

BLACK FLAG

FOR ANARCHIST RESISTANCE

What Is Government?

To be governed is to be watched, inspected,
spied on, regulated, indoctrinated, preached
at, controlled, ruled, censored by persons
who have neither wisdom nor virtue.

J. Proudhon, 1848

Inside:

Government doesn't work

Anti-Fascism

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Sex and Sexuality

**Black Flag
BM Hurricane
London WC1N 3XX**

**Published, typeset and
layout by the Black Flag
Collective**

**Printed by Clydeside
Press
041 552 5519**

**For a social system based on
mutual aid and voluntary
co-operation – against state
control and all forms of
government and economic
repression. To establish a
share in the general
prosperity for all – the
breaking down of racial,
religious, national and sex
barriers – and to fight for
the life of one world.**

Subscription Rates

Inland and Europe:

4 issues £6

Rest of the world,

Surface: 4 issues £8

Airmail: 4 issues £10

**Giro Account no. Black Flag
58 552 4009**



WE'RE BACK

Our last regular publication of *Black Flag* was No.201 (Nov 90), although a 'midnight' issue, No 202 did appear in November 91. We had intended to resume regular publication then, but failed for a number of reasons.

Many of you have told us we had the best anarchist paper ever and that our return would be marked by dancing in the streets. While we're not averse to a bit of dancing ourselves, we must ask you for your support in a number of other ways.

We have decided to come out as a quarterly, as the overwhelming cost of postage and printing and the size of our collective makes anything else impractical at the moment. We are trying to keep up the quality and increase the quantity per issue, but this depends on copy and finances. We are still sending *Black Flag* free to prisoners all over the world and would like to continue sending it for postage for people on the dole.

However, we have no rich backers or friendly secret police agents to fund us, just what we ourselves earn. We cannot survive without donations from our supporters, so if you like what you're reading, send us some cash. If you can afford it, send us a bit extra to cover our non-paying subscribers – they're inside for us and deserve our support.

Donations to keep *Black Flag* going don't have to be money. We also need stamps, envelopes, articles, info, news, graphics and cartoons, reports, translators, fund-raisers etc. Translators from all languages are welcome, but particularly East European languages, Italian and Greek. Articles can be taken on disc (either size) in any IBM compatible word processing package. Please state what package you're using if you send a disc to us.

All trade and back orders are being handled by: AK Distribution, 22 Lutton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland, E8 9PE.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Which British Government had the highest number of both actual and acknowledged political prisoners this century (and the party doesn't deny it, or the fact that it tortured people when in power), and what is its relation to Amnesty International?

2. Who were Britain's allies in the 1812 war against France and the States, and how were they rewarded?

3. Which country, under a military dictatorship subsequently supporting the Nazis, called successfully on democratic

guerrilla forces to defend it from Russian invasion, and what appealed most about it to the Americans?

4. Why "flash" for flamboyant crooks or their imitators, as in "Flash Harry"?

5. What were the 17th century autonomous and almost libertarian (though patriarchal) colonies of armed guerrillas in the Americas, living on hunting, fishing and plunder of State revenue, called, and what was the attitude of the great powers to them?

Answers to quiz on page 31

Middlebrook workers fight on

IN NOVEMBER 1992, 89 women were sacked from Middlebrook Mushrooms, a farm in Whitley, near Selby, Yorkshire. All the women were part-time and had over the past few years co-operated with management to increase productivity, increase output, change working practises and last year agreed to a pay freeze. The company, part of the giant Booker plc conglomerate, then turned round and demanded a pay cut. The women said no and were sacked. Since then the women have been holding daily pickets and mounting a campaign for reinstatement.

Recently they were refused the right to apply for unfair dismissal due to the fact they were involved in industrial

action; an ironic state of affairs whereby if a worker has a grievance they cannot take action with fellow workers to sort it out but must go cap in hand before the tribunal. The womens' morale, however, is still high, maintained by the large level of support. A number of them have been invited over to Sweden by the SAC (the syndicalist Swedish union).

On the 26th October the strikers will be going to London to picket the Booker Prize and they are also calling for a mass picket on 20th November to mark the anniversary of the strike.

For further information and donations, contact:

Cliftonville, Plough Garth, Kellington, DN14 0NJ Tel. 0977 662923



STOP THORP NOW!

AT PRESENT the Government is deciding whether to go ahead with the THORP nuclear reprocessing plant at Sellafield in Cumbria. THORP is a Thermal Oxide Reprocessing Plant that was begun in 1977 at an estimated cost of £300 million. Today there is a world glut of uranium and countries such as France, Germany and even Britain have abandoned fast-breeder reactor programmes. The only other use for plutonium is in nuclear weapons. Today, the bill for THORP stands at a massive £2.8 billion.

Sellafield is the largest single source of radioactive discharge in Europe. It has been responsible for the largest number of nuclear accidents in Britain. It is also the site of Britain's worst nuclear accident - the Windscale fire of 1957 - the serious effects of which were kept secret for 30 years. British Nuclear Fuel bosses like to portray themselves as caring for the workers but it is the workers who have to live with the consequences of working with radiation, including an increased risk of cancer and leukemia passed on from plant workers to their children.

This dangerous plant must be stopped because it would:

- Drastically increase volumes of

nuclear waste. The incidence of childhood leukemia around Sellafield is already up to ten times the national average. Radiation is the only established environmental cause.

- Release up to 15 million Curies of Krypton-85, a known cancer agent, into the atmosphere.

- Increase the traffic in nuclear waste and plutonium around the UK and the world.

- Create more plutonium, further increasing the risk of nuclear weapons proliferation. By the year 2000 Sellafield

will be storing over half the world's plutonium, enough to make 10,000 atom bombs of the type that destroyed Nagasaki.

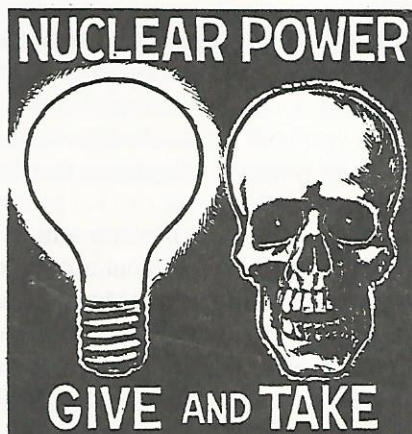
- Make Britain the nuclear dustbin of the world.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Although THORP has been built, the decision to go ahead has been postponed till November 1993. We need a national campaign against THORP and the whole of the nuclear industry based on grass roots activism. Even if THORP is launched we can sink it by direct action. In Germany a mass movement stopped a similar reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf. Dutch dockers recently refused to handle nuclear waste bound for Britain. These kinds of actions along with militant demonstrations and campaigns can work. Get your local environmental group, political group or trade union to campaign against THORP or contact the campaign:

Anti-Nuclear Network
c/o 265 Seven Sisters Road
London N4 2DE

Please make cheques/POs payable to:
Haringey Direct Action Group.



Asian youth fight back

ON THE NIGHT of Wednesday 8th September Quaddas Ali, 17, was severely beaten by a gang of seven white men and a woman as he and some friends visited a East London video shop. As we go to press he is still in hospital, but out of intensive care.

The attack comes against a background of increasing support for the racist British National Party (BNP) in a local council by-election in nearby Millwall and an ever increasing number of racist attacks. The attack happened the same night as the BNP were canvassing in the area and there is an unconfirmed report that some of those involved in the attack have been identified as BNP members. The police, however, claim to have no idea as to the identity of the attackers and on the night of the attack held the boy who reported it.

On Friday night, Youth Against Racism in Europe called for a vigil at the London hospital where Quaddas Ali had been taken. Soon a large group, predominantly asian, young and male, was squeezed onto the pavement outside the hospital. The platform was handed over to the Anti-Nazi League (ANL) and the restless crowd was bored by a succession of speakers. Meanwhile, the small number of visible police tried to keep people off the road and some kids flicked paper balls at a couple of coppers. The cops entered the crowd to try and arrest these 'dangerous criminals'. There was some pushing and shoving and as the ANL called for people to assemble for a demo, the asian youth were fighting back. A few coppers got a beating, a cop car was turned over, another had its tyres slashed and another its keys stolen. The police hit back with a shield charge which forced people over the road, into a parade of shops where four windows were smashed. As the crowd moved up the road the windows of two pubs were also smashed, but as police reinforcements arrived the crowd dispersed. Police have blamed the trouble on "politically motivated trouble-makers". The truth is the local Asians don't need anyone to tell them how to fight back. In fact there is a growing feeling amongst them to have nothing to do with 'white' anti-racist

groups after being disillusioned by the opportunism of the ANL and their ilk. This is further encouraged by the muslim fundamentalists who had been very vocal at the demo - chanting 'we want war' and who on Saturday had posters up calling for unity amongst the asian community and separation from 'white' groups.

On the Saturday the BNP had called a demo on the Isle of Dogs in East London. Only 50 turned up, but these included John Tyndall and other bigwigs. They proceeded in a boozy pub crawl and by 6.30 after being kicked out of a pub they

were escorted by the police to the top of Brick Lane (the centre of the local asian community). Here the police left them to smash some shop windows only to join them again at the bottom of the road.

The asian community has only one option in the face of these attacks and blatant police racism - that is to defend itself. Undoubtedly, people will be victimised for defending their community, just as they have before. They have our support. We remember the slogans of community defence campaigns over the years - Self Defence is No Offence!



A demonstrator being dragged off on the Friday demo

Jobplan Sabotaged

THE JOB centre in Lambeth, South London was occupied by angry claimants in early July as part of ongoing resistance to the 'Jobplan' scheme and attacks on claimants in general. Jobplan is a new one week compulsory course for those unemployed more than a year with the usual patronising 'help' and advice on competing harder with others for whatever jobs may or may not be available and more hassle to get people off benefits.

Sixteen Lambeth claimants sent on the course found the conditions unbearable with a scruffy, miserable room, apart from there being no good reason to be there. They told the organisers - 'Instant Muscle' - that they wouldn't participate unless conditions were improved and entertained themselves reading papers and listening to walkmans. On the second day they were told to go home and that their benefits would not be affected!

Help in spreading the resistance to Jobplan can be obtained from the Lambeth Unemployed Action Group, 12-14 Thornton St, London SW9

Source: *Contraflow*, c/o 56a Infoshop, 56 Crampton St, London SE17

High noon at Timex

THE 343 WORKERS who were sacked from Timex, the watch manufacturers, are still fighting on despite the closure of the plant in Dundee. They were laid off in February after accepting a limited lay-off proposal from management, but refusing to accept cuts in benefits and conditions. Timex then hired 200 scabs. The plant was picketed daily with many mass pickets. In June the company announced it was going to close the factory in December, but probably frightened by the determination of those it laid off, shut the plant in a midnight flit at the end of August.

Picketing - including Timex plants in

France and the HQ in Connecticut, USA - and a boycott campaign continues. In the USA a delegation asked to see the Timex president. His response was to call the police, but while they were over there good links were made with the American miners. Workers in France have signed a petition in support of the Dundee workers despite threats from management that any who did so would be sacked.

Timex have now opened a new office in Market St, Forfar which is being picketed daily and mass pickets are planned.

Timex have manufacturing plants around the world and can shift production

from plant to plant. They try and force wages down by setting workers in one country against workers in another, but the Timex strikers by being brave enough to stand firm and by making international links and appeals directly to the workers abroad are taking the multinational head on. Let us hope that other workers can be as resilient.

Information on the strike, on the boycott campaign and donations: Timex Strike Fund, AEEU, 2 Union St, Dundee, Scotland.

SOCIAL INSECURITY

FOR YEARS the poor of London travelled out to Kent for the hop picking season. For thousands of children, the weeks out in the country were the only holidays they had, and the fresh air did them good, despite the fact they had to work picking the hops for Britain's beer drinkers. Families were thus able to afford free holidays during the depression, and mothers got a little bit of hard needed extra cash. The unemployed got the chance of a social outing as well as paying off a few accumulated debts. Since the war foreign students, without work permits, have also come over to pick hops and learn the language.

These criminals have now been brought to justice. The government has been spurred to act and officers posing as workers joined teams of fruit and vegetable pickers on farms across Kent and used sophisticated audio and video equipment to record and film those who were claiming state benefit...“(they) even dressed in scruffy clothes and talked the local jargon to gain the confidence of the casual pickers.” (*London Evening Standard* 28.8.93)

This follows a previous operation by which fruit-picking foreign students have been rounded up and deported. Londoners and others have been heavily fined, not by the courts, but by withdrawal of their ironically called “State benefits”. As only a few weeks is involved, they were not prosecuted but the idea of their earning

continued on next page

TRADE UNIONISM IN CRISIS

BUILDING AN ANARCHO SYNDICALIST ALTERNATIVE

A Dayschool for Trade Unionists to discuss workplace organisation and plan a way forward

What future for reformist trade unionism?

Anarcho syndicalist unions - organising for a fighting alternative.

Guest speaker from the CNT (Spanish anarcho syndicalist union)

Workshops on organising Industrial Networks

SATURDAY 30th OCTOBER

12 NOON

Jackson Lane Community Centre
269a Archway Road (Highgate tube),
North London

Registration £2

**Organised by TRANSPORT WORKERS NETWORK, -
 EDUCATION WORKERS NETWORK & PUBLIC SERVICE
 WORKERS NETWORK**

For further information - PO Box 29, SW PDO, Manchester

Squatting Squashed?

In October 1991, the Government published a consultation paper outlining its reasons for wanting to change the law on squatting.

This was in the wake of screaming media headlines such as "Is your home safe from squatters this summer"¹ or "The day squatters invaded our home"² and increasing demands from landowning Tory backbenchers to "do something" about these "anti-social parasites".³

The fact that over a third of a million people were homeless in the UK at the time barely got a mention. Indeed the department responsible for the consultation paper was not Environment (normally concerned with housing) but the Home Office.

The consultation paper, apart from being very sketchily researched, was also vague in its proposals. They were to either: a) Leave the law unchanged, b) Extend the existing Section 7 of the Criminal Law Act⁴ to cover private tenants and maybe landowners in the process of selling their properties, c) extend provisions to cover squatting in all residential property or d) go the whole hog and declare squatting in any property

or on any land illegal.

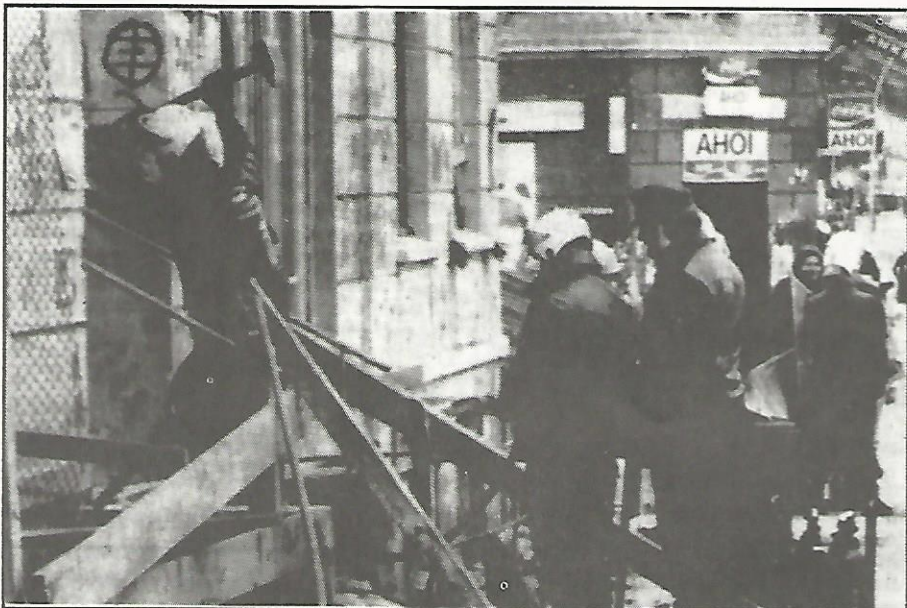
Since its publication and the subsequent consultation period, the government have made no statements concerning which proposals they favour.

In fact things went strangely quiet for about a year – Tory backbenchers presumably believing that "something

was being done" and that their mansions were safe in John Major's hands.

This year, however, squatting is back on the agenda. Kenneth Baker summed up the Tories imaginative new programme with these well chosen words: "We'll get tough on armed robbers, get tough on rapists and get tough on squatters". They have made it clear that legislation on squatting will be announced in the Queen's Speech.

SQUASH (Squatters Action for



Squatters being evicted in Hamburg

Social Insecurity cont.

a few extra shillings for picking fruit which would otherwise have rotted has caused apoplexy in certain quarters.

Nobody would take on hop picking as a job. Wages, if they can be called that, are well below even unemployment pay. Servile journalists who regularly falsify their expense sheets, stigmatise people who earn a few extra shillings, as "cheats" or "scroungers".

Nobody should be taken in by this. The capitalist economy requires a margin of unemployed, therefore those who do not work contribute to the economy as do those who work. An army requires a certain number of regiments on active duty and others doing little or nothing. One idiotic MP in 1944 stigmatised conscript British

soldiers in Italy, after the collapse of Mussolini, as "D Day Dodgers", as if they had the choice of where they served. Today, in the same vein, many idiots in Parliament would describe people on social insecurity as "scroungers". Yet even those who make the choice to live on Social Security are contributing to the capitalist economy by making up the margin that it requires.

That picking fruit and vegetables in one's spare time, outside one's own garden or allotment, if any, warrants an army of snoopers, sophisticated bugging and secret operational measures, could only occur to warped bureaucrats and enemies of society.

Secure Homes) was set up in 1991 to fight these proposals and to try to redress the balance in a very one sided debate.

At first SQUASH's principal activities were the writing of a detailed response to the Consultation paper (and other groups were encouraged to do the same), producing an MP's briefing and a media briefing on squatting and homelessness, lobbying MPs and housing charities and general networking.

It was particularly important to counter the media stereotype of the middle class drop-out who - in the words of the consultation paper - squat "by their own choice, motivated by no more than self-gratification or an unreadiness to respect other peoples' rights."

Of course there are a number of self-styled new age gurus only too pleased to use the media for their own ends (free publicity for shit raves etc.) but the majority of squatters are normal working class people who simply cannot afford or

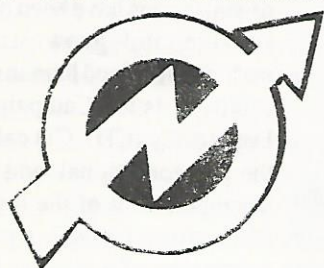
find anywhere else to live. One third of all squatters are families with children, one in twenty are ex-home owners evicted in mortgage repossession and many are fleeing domestic or racial violence or harassment or simple council inefficiency in housing allocations.

This July a much larger and broader campaign was set up. Squatters, travellers, rough sleepers, lawyers, housing charities civil rights groups and related campaigns were all represented at a meeting in Conway Hall. Working groups were set up to cover different aspects of the campaign, such as actions, media, lobbying and finding an office.

Although the main aim is to prevent squatting from becoming criminalised (and the nightmare scenario of 50,000 people being thrown on to the streets), the fact is that squatters and rough sleepers are having to defend their homes and fragile existing rights right now.

A campaign that puts all its efforts into lobbying Parliament and the mass media is bound and deserves to fail. The Poll Tax wasn't defeated in Parliament, but on the streets.

So SQUASH is encouraging people to form local groups who can organise with tenants groups, homeless groups, unions, law centres etc. to fight evictions, bad housing conditions, slum landlords and police and council harassment, as



well as any new legislation.

So if we fail to stop legislation going through parliament, we can be organised and ready to make implementation unworkable.

SQUASH can be contacted at 2 St Pauls Rd London N1 2QN. Ansaphone 071-226 8938.

Notes

1 *Bella magazine*

2 *Evening Standard*

3 Kenneth Baker

4 Section 7 Criminal Law Act 1977 covers PIOs - Protected Intending Occupiers. It allows the immediate eviction of trespassers whose presence is preventing a tenant moving in. It also protects tenants or home owners who are displaced by trespassers and made homeless themselves.

Glasgow Anarchist Summer School

A COUPLE of us from *Black Flag* went up to Glasgow for the summer School on May bank holiday weekend. Respect is due the Glasgow Anarchists for an enjoyable weekend.

The workshops were generally well run, with a mature level of debate and a surprising amount of agreement. Comrades attended from all over the country, including over sixty from the Strathclyde region, a good representation from other Scottish cities, as well as from Manchester, Liverpool, Hull, Doncaster, London, Bristol, Plymouth and Oxford.

The industrial workshops featured discussions on networks, as well as ideas on organising the unorganised and tactics to use against fly-by-night bosses. It would be fair to say that although there wasn't agreement in the workshop on sexuality, a range of ideas were aired and the discussion stimulating.

The social side of the summer school wasn't neglected either. The hospitable comrades threw a couple of parties on both nights. Lets hope this was the first of many, whether in Glasgow or elsewhere.

Pit Sense versus the State

"THE DONCASTER pit communities' battle of native wit against the agents of the state, almost since the inception of the coalfield just before World War One, is a story in need of telling", wrote Dave Douglas, NUM Branch Delegate, Hatfield Main, in an appeal for his book *Pit Sense versus the State*. It will be published by Phoenix Press who need to raise £3,000. Sending a loan of £20 will entitle you to

a free copy of the book when published and your £20 will eventually be offered back after a number of years, though of course another book may be in the pipeline and you will be asked to continue the loan.

Contact Phoenix Press, PO Box 824, London, N1 9DL



Get Networked!

Are you working in education, transport or the public sector (Local Government, Health or Voluntary)?

If so, join your industrial network for practical solidarity and promoting the ideas of workers' self-management.

Transport Workers' Network,
PO Box 73, Norwich NR1 2EB

Education Workers' Network,
PO Box 29 SWPDO
Manchester M15 5HW

Public Service Workers'
Network
PO Box 1681 London N8 7LE

NIGERIA, Africa's largest country, continues to reel under the twin effects of military dictatorship and an International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank imposed Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). The people have also suffered terribly since 1985 when General Babangida's military government took over.

The SAP has led to either forced retirement or layoffs for a large proportion of the workforce. Under-employment officially stands at almost 25% of those who want to work, but is surely much greater. Layoffs in key state-owned industries such as railways, ports, airways and education has become rampant since the SAP was introduced in 1987. Even pro-SAP studies report that "the nation is confronted with unprecedented unemployment among educational workers". (D.M. Akinnusi, p.207). The cost of the SAP has been tremendous. Accompanying increased unemployment, the SAP has helped to create almost US\$40 billion external debt and soaring inflation of almost 320% a year.

The cost of buying soap, bread, yam, beans, tomatoes and rice far outstrips the average wage. These costs do not even take into account the cost of transport to and from work. The "petro dollars" of the '70s have long since dried up. The common person can no longer survive. Political repression continues to be used against the people in an effort to further advance the interests of the IMF, World Bank and the military government.

In 1985 General Ibrahim Babangida seized power. At that time he said he would relinquish power in three years and unban the rights of freedom of association and political activity. Since then, however, repression has become worse.

Babangida's authoritarianism has been manifested through bans on all oppositional activity, arrests and detention

Nigeria

Yours in struggle

without trial (Security Detention of Persons Decree known as Decree #2), closure of newspapers and public universities, prohibiting demonstrations and rendering unions ineffective.

Free and independent labour

detention. Beginning in 1986 Babangida's henchmen killed unarmed students at Ahmadu Bello University for protesting against SAP-imposed hardship. In May 1992, students at the University of Lagos protested against the shortage of gasoline and attendant price increases. At least five died in this protest. There have been countless other incidents and many more deaths caused by the regime, and sadly the toll will continue to rise.

Resistance to the government and SAP austerity measures has varied from place to place. Some forms of resistance have been individualised, others spontaneous actions and still others have taken the form of popular general strikes. Although some sections of the industrial working class have taken action (most notably dock workers) the most militant section of the working class has been the university teachers, staff and students.

Despite the banning of nearly all opposition organisations, some such organisations have been able to survive and grow. In the parliamentary and human rights camp exists the Campaign for Democracy (CD). CD calls for the "unconditional and total disengagement of the military from governance" and the "setting up of a popular based Interim Government...to

discuss national problems and design a transitional programme leading to free and fair elections".

Counterpoised to the CD stands the Awareness League (AL). According to the Charter of the Awareness League, they were "founded as a social libertarian organisation inspired by and committed to the ideas, principles, objectives, goals, ends and purposes of.....anarcho-syndicalism". Unlike the reformist platform of the CD, the AL condemns the "evils and failings of capital". For the AL



General Ibrahim Babangida

organisation is effectively banned in Nigeria. Since 1978 (under the previous military government) there has been a single trade union system, with all unions belonging to the Nigerian Labour Congress. The military retains considerable control over unions activities. The government determines which industries are essential and thus forbidden to strike.

If economic control and political authoritarianism aren't enough, the government continues to pursue its objectives through violence. It is hard to say how many prisoners have died in

continued on page 31

DECLARATION OF THE POLISH REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALIST ACTION

Every person, regardless of ethnic, national or racial affiliation, has the right to a dignified and prosperous life. This cannot be the privilege of only the elite.

Liberation of work is a condition of freedom. That is why the goal of the **Revolutionary Syndicalist Action (ARS)** is the popular empowerment of the workers, by which we mean the unconditional take-over and ownership of enterprises by the workers. Along with that, we strive to eliminate the government bureaucracy and the control that it maintains over the fruits of the workers' labour.

We are also against the stealing of the national wealth by the nomenclature creating the capitalist system at the cost of other people.



We acknowledge that these goals can only be reached through direct action - general strikes and other revolutionary activities aimed at the prevailing system. We reject all political activities which do not aim at directly leading to the empowerment of workers, such as the struggle for power through Parliament or through violence.

We consider the conflict began with "Revolution '80", whose content was the workers' struggle to take control of the wealth of society away from the communist functionaries, is entering a decisive phase. Present events will determine if the owners of the national wealth, that is those who will control all spheres of social life, will be a narrow elite or if the take-over of the enterprises and revolution will be an open road to building a free and just society.

At the same time, we support all

forms of social struggle (eg. wage strikes) which improve workers' standard of living.

We call upon the ARS to realise the above stated goal. Anyone who accepts the principles contained in this declaration and applies this in practice can become a member.

STATEMENT OF THE ARS

The deciding factor determining the whole social and political structure and workers' living standards is ownership.

The so-called privatisation process taking place during the four years has transferred ownership to the government bureaucracy and the old and new nomenclature in the form of the old Communist functionaries and the greedy new Solidarnosc elites.

President Suchoka's government wants to widen the process even more to epidemic proportions. The destructive effects of these steps are already evident today.

Who gets the factory will determine who will - and for whom and how much - work during the next decades. It will also determine if the economy will meet the basic needs of the common worker, or instead produce tanks for the army and yachts for the millionaires. Or an even worse scenario, provide resources for the West for which they will pay with tanks and yachts.

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

1. Blocking of the so-called privatisation process.
2. The general, unconditional empowerment of workers, that is the free and immediate transfer of title of ownership of the enterprises to the workers.
3. For a review of already completed transfers (starting from December 13th, 1981) especially all enterprises privatised through the so-called "liquidation path".

4. For making public and explaining the matter of the transfer of the Municipal Housing Administration into the Municipal Housing Company.

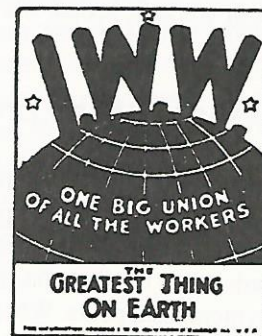
No Privatisations, Pacts or Bonds!

The only effective actions are those directly aimed at the administration and government bureaucrats.



Wobblies Win Bingo!

AFTER FIGHTING for over a year the IWW has succeeded in organising Boulevard Bingo in Allentown Pennsylvania. Just a few hours before a court was to rule on the dispute a settlement was reached which included back pay and union recognition. As Industrial Worker says, this victory is an inspiration to workers in small shops in the Lehigh Valley and across America. We'd like to add our congratulations and hope it's an inspiration to workers in places thought 'unorganisable' all over the world.



There is no crisis GOVERNMENT DOESN'T WORK

ONE EXCUSE after another is made for war, depression, poverty, tyranny and crime. Throughout the years they have come to be expected fatalistically as natural disasters either beyond human control, or only soluble given a change in human nature. It is true reforms can be made and the worst excesses modified, but most disasters we suffer are inbuilt in the very fact of government. What we need is not government of people, but control by people over their own lives.

The propaganda machine essential to keep the system going makes us think in terms of personalities, crises, political leanings and economic systems as well as religious beliefs, nations and races. All these are useful to those who want to assume government but none of them can prevent disasters.

We have passed through feudalism to capitalism with bloody upheavals and countless tragedies. There has been a change of rulers and those who made the jump from one to the other have reigned supreme for hundreds of years. Some have climbed out of lower classes to join them but those who are ruled are in as bad a position than ever. The only improvement in their conditions comes not from government but from social progress, invariably hindered by the upper classes and the State.

The State Communist societies are now in collapse and the transition to capitalism proves worse than the dictatorships they created, causing war. Each sycophantic bureaucrat who maintained the dictatorship, each warlord playing upon nationality or religion, each criminal serving the demands of the market is making a bid to establish themselves as the new ruling class, while the living standards of working people who produce the wealth drop to zero.

The "Issues" of the present day

In a profit-making society, unemployment is deliberately controlled, but the pretence is that it is accidental or inevitable. In times of war or dictatorship, in other words when the State has control of the economy, unemployment disappears. When the State does not intervene in this fashion and the profit-making system

requires a margin of people without wages, in order to fight wage demands by the threat of job losses, unemployment immediately reappears.

A level of poverty is always required by the State, just as a religion needs a hell to which one goes if one disobeys. Under a competitive system it cannot decide who goes into the poverty trap and the market decides. Under an economy not determined by the market, by reason of necessity or ideology, it can do so. In any case the State requires a poverty trap, although some individuals in government or elsewhere may be more compassionate than others.



The money system is the means by which the share of the economy is regulated. Money was intended to replace barter, and to make it easier for the ruling class to collect taxation. It is a method of confiscation to enable the parasitic State and its necessary bureaucracy to exist. It also maintains the economy by creating a workless reserve. Those in power hate to pay tax and in a feudal system the aristocracy never did. In the capitalist system it is levied on the working class as much as possible, by way of taxed necessities. Direct taxes are also levied but the rich are given means to avoid it or delay paying. Nevertheless, those who do well out of the economic system (whatever it is) think of themselves as subsidising or looking after the poor when they have to pay tax, but the reverse is the case. In reality only they need government, over others, otherwise their dominance is at once challenged.

In order to maintain the economic system and for the State to dominate, it needs control of the money system. If the State is defeated in war, or is weakened by some other means, its money becomes worthless. To maintain itself in isolation it needs to control the currency. Any regular traveller knows how to convert from one monetary system into another and it is possible to have a common currency. Governments cannot agree on one without losing control to whoever determines how much the currency is worth. That is what all the fuss about ERM is about. Because the system of barter has become a commodity in itself, it is possible every time a currency changes value for financiers to make a huge profit. It is beyond governments to control this, since the means of making the profit requires the connivance of people in the know, i.e. within government.

Some crime is a business like any other, some crimes are anti-social and against society and the individual, some are determined by government measures. What may be considered a highly respected profession in one country may be criminal in another (e.g. brewers, a respected section of the Establishment in Britain, were gangsters in the US Prohibition era). Murder, robbery and kidnapping are legal when sanctioned by the State. The public generally lend their begrudging support to the State only because it looks to the State police force to protect it from anti-social crime, knowing full well it will never protect them from legal crime. Yet by relying upon the police force provided by the State, the community loses all hope of defending itself. When the police for reasons of policy or inadequacy do not intervene in situations of crime, the public are not only helpless but find organised self-defence is illegal.

The ruling class needs recession and slump to preserve the differentials of the rich and powerful. Otherwise, growing prosperity causes encroachment on their status. In a dictatorial society this can be done by industrial conscription, in a democratic society it is done through State manipulation of currency and the banks. That this may hurt those who favour the government through privileges extended in the past or previous ability to prosper under the system, is an unfortunate fact of life for them. Some governments struggle to ease this burden, others do not, according to outlook.

The means of identifying the people with the State is to call it "the country" and use patriotism and nationalism as a means of getting consent to oppression. The way to solidify this is by war, which unites as nothing else and makes a "common enemy" definable. Also the manufacture of arms is highly profitable to sections of the ruling class. Even military defeat can be turned to the advantage of sections of the ruling class, and defeated "nations" with new governments emerge as ultimate victors. There is the danger for any current government that would-be new rulers may combine, using the same slogans of nationalism and patriotisms, to try to appeal to a part of the people divided by another part by a real (or invented) nation, race, religion or language. This may lead to a war, disastrous for the ordinary people but with which the State, even if defeated, can ultimately live, by the creation of separate Governments.

AM

Q & A on Anarchism

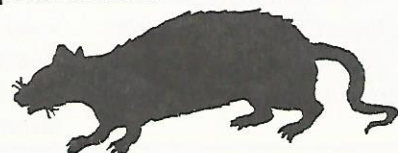
Q. Is the story about inflation in 1920s Germany – people carrying a suitcase full of mark notes to pay a bus fare true?

A. Yes, but the inconvenience was only a few days, then they overprinted the word million after the number and people handed their 1 marks in exchange for 1m marks. What they don't say nowadays is how, when the mark inflated greatly, people rushed to pay off their mortgages or rent arrears, relentlessly hunting down their creditors to accept immediate payment, or forcing their landlords to take six months rent in advance for the price of a bus fare. Yet nobody would work for less than it cost to get there and wages rose accordingly, at least for those in work. This is why the British Government now thinks unemployment and poverty for others is a price worth paying to curb inflation.

New Rage

An old-style takeover is being carried out in Glastonbury. This time the New Age worshippers, Sky God freaks and herb crunchers, some sitting naked on the coal bunker at dawn, face turned to the sun, have displaced the population. The "drop outs" would like us to believe they are a persecuted minority like the Early Christians but the reality is they are taking over whole streets and pricing out the working class, resident for generations before the middle class as we know it existed, let alone spawned alienated eccentrics.

When there is a solstice, the New Agers rush to the Tor to receive the magic vibrations and the lanes around are blocked with cars and the grassy hill turns to mud from Earth worshippers who are an ecological disaster in themselves. Some think of it as ersatz-"anarchism", but having pushed up the price of land and glorified tourism (sorry, pilgrimage) they have made Glastonbury one of the few places capitalism and religion thrives in the present economic and sceptical climate.



SECURITY ALERT

We are advising all anarchist and anti-fascist/anti-racist militants, whether members of an organisation or not, to be on guard. There is a man who has been involved to various degrees in the anti-fascist movement for many years now, who is known to be a police informer and, by his own admission has contacts in the security services. He does not tolerate criticism lightly and resorts to smears and lies when confronted with evidence contrary to his own. He produces a magazine which devotes a liberal amount of space to attacking anti-fascists and anarchist/left wing organisations. His name is Gerry Gable, and his publication is *Searchlight*.

For many years now anarchists and some left groups and individuals, *Black Flag* among them, have understood the "other" role of *Searchlight* and Gerry Gable. Much of this is due to his own admissions and lapses, like the infamous memo¹ concerning his contacts in "higher places". Not surprisingly, those individuals, publications and organisations that have shown Gable for what he is have themselves come under Gable's *Searchlight*, resulting in blatant lies, innuendo and smears. We are not going to go into great detail, as most of his antics are well documented.²

Over the last few months Gable, sometimes using the Ray Hill³ column in *Searchlight* (which is written by Gable) has been accusing various individuals, specifically Tim Scargill, then of the Class War Federation, of being fascist plants within Anti-Fascist Action (AFA) and implying connections between some anarchists and known fascists. Apart from smears and hearsay, Gable has not produced a shred of evidence to back up his claims.

In response to the latest bout of lies, a pamphlet, *A Lie Too Far - Searchlight, Hepple and the Left*, has been produced to refute the accusations and back it up with evidence. Some of the evidence comes from *Searchlight*'s mole in the BNP, Tim Hepple, who also tried infiltrating groups on the left - for Gable, or the police, or both?

This article is not a review of the pamphlet, but our conclusions are similar. We need an independent anti-fascist movement that has nothing to do with Gable of *Searchlight* at all. There is a need for discussion among anarchists about our role in the anti-fascist movement given the increase in fascist attacks on us, and the seemingly fragmented anti-fascist opposition particularly in London, where the battle will be won or lost. London comrades need to get organised and go on the offensive, just as the northern comrades have.

Recently, a veteran anti-fascist from Brighton challenged Gable by letter⁴ to back up his claims about Malcolm Astells, formerly of the NF but now an active anti-fascist, who Gable asserts is still a fascist sympathiser. *Black Flag* has seen Gable's reply and it supplied no evidence whatsoever about Malcolm Astells, though we could speculate as to whether Gable has finally flipped.

In his reply Gable rejects claims that he is linked to the security services, citing the amount of help *Searchlight* has given AFA over the years: info, speakers, etc., just like all good state infiltrators do! (It happens in Northern Ireland every day.) For example, Gable passed on info to some anti-fascists concerning a fascist meeting in West London, knowing they would contemplate action against the fascists. Luckily they didn't for the proceedings were being filmed for a TV

programme for which Gable was a consultant. It doesn't take a lot of imagination to see the possible end results.

Gable is no friend of anti-fascists prepared for physical confrontation, especially anarchists, who he hates. But without the militant wing the movement would be useless which in turn would affect *Searchlight*'s perceived role as leading the struggle against fascism and racism. Gable needs the militants, but only if he can influence them. We say we don't need him and call for a boycott of *Searchlight* and Gable.

There can be no unity with those who collaborate with the state. It is disappointing then to see the attitude of AFA, the most militant and effective anti-fascist organisation. In the most recent edition of *Fighting Talk*, AFA's



magazine, a statement appears in support of Malcolm Astells, yet fails to mention the others smeared by *Searchlight*. People could be forgiven for thinking that perhaps AFA share *Searchlight*'s views on the matter. Or is AFA just showing its own brand of sectarianism? Over to AFA. If they have any evidence other than *Searchlight*'s to suggest these people are fascist infiltrators they are duty bound to bring it into the open.

The statement concludes "there is definitely a role for an anti-fascist intelligence magazine, but harassing genuine militant's certainly isn't it." What they could have added is that *Searchlight* can no longer fill that role, if it ever could.

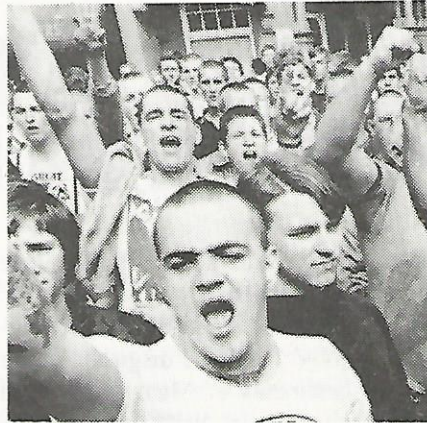
The change in fortunes for the anti-fascist movement in London over the last eighteen months or so has been quite remarkable, especially as there are now more people involved and certainly more

organisations. The first step to unity in London is to gather together the militant wing of anti-fascism, however unlikely that might seem.

Without a commitment to physical confrontation, the anti-fascist movement is a meaningless facade, lowered to the level of protest and ultimately reliant on the state. That is not to say that physical confrontation is the be-all and end-all of anti-fascism. We are well aware that a wide range of tactics have to be used and that not everyone can or wants to engage in physical confrontation. An action should be judged not by whether it is violent, but whether it is effective in helping defeat the fascists.

After 18 months or so of infighting amongst the anti-fascist/anti-racist organisations, the all too familiar calls for unity are once again being heard. Usually, they come from those who have proved themselves to be the most sectarian bastards going. What are we to make of this? And what price unity?

Unity of aims and tactics, while desirable, is unlikely. What is a more pressing topic for discussion is the independence of the anti-fascist movement. Independence from the state,



and also from control by any one party, group, faction or publication. The nature of organisations like the SWP and Militant who set up their own fronts rather than get involved in existing organisations, make the prospect of a unitary anti-fascist movement well nigh impossible.

Unfortunately, where there was unity in the militant wing, epitomised by AFA, there is now mistrust and fragmentation. This is unfair to the Northern Network, who are doing fine work fighting those fascists who dare to show their faces in public. The situation in London is a different matter, which is unfortunate as parts of London are where the BNP are most active.

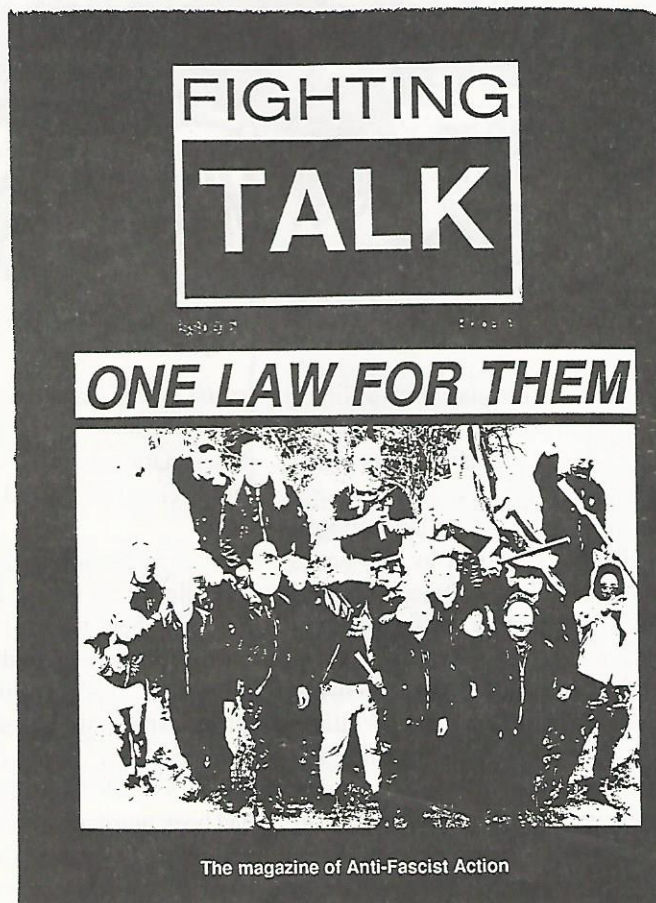
There is a section of the left who like to pass themselves off as intellectuals, who argue that fascist groups like the BNP are no more than a distraction and that the real problem is state racism. While not denying the very real effect of institutional state racism on people's lives, we feel this argument comes from ignorance. Those who advance these arguments are usually middle class, and lack understanding of what life is like in working class areas - the tensions, cynicism and apoliticism. The fact that such leftists have usually given up on the working class may be a blessing in disguise.

While it is true that the BNP have no chance of taking power, even at a local level, it would be criminal to ignore them. The facts of life are that people don't necessarily look to the left when looking for a political alternative. A radical right-wing party, with working class membership, could grow in parts of London, particularly where racism is rife, like the East End. As we go to press, the BNP are running second in polls for a council by-election in Millwall, East London, with 35% of the vote. Anti-fascists should always remember that fighting and winning on the streets is just the beginning.

It would be unwise and naive to keep pushing the line that fascists are the tools of the bosses. They certainly were and possibly will be again, but they do have their own agenda. An organisation like the BNP can have an effect at a local level out of all proportion to their membership. A good example was when they mobilised hundreds of local residents in Bermondsey, South London to oppose a predominantly black anti-racist march. Could any left wing group today have similar influence in a similar area? Fortunately, they failed to capitalise on this, but that may not always be the case. A genuine, working class alternative is

continued on page

**Fighting Talk – The magazine of Anti-Fascist Action
available from BM 1734, London WC1N 3XX £1**



A BEWILDERING ARRAY

ANYONE CONCERNED about racism and fascism in Britain could be forgiven for being confused. There are half a dozen different anti-fascist and anti-racist organisations, as well as hundreds on a local level. Here's a brief guide for those of you perplexed by the inability of the left in Britain to achieve anything apart from a split.

The Anti Nazi League: an unashamed front for the Socialist Workers Party. Claims far more members than are in the SWP but most are on paper. If you are foolish enough to part with a quid to an SWP paper seller, you'll be one of them.

Tactically they're all over the place. Until January 1992 the SWP believed there was no need for a national anti-fascist organisation. If you're wondering what changed overnight on New Year's Eve, don't worry. So are we, and so are the few SWP members still capable of thinking.

If you are tempted to get involved with this lot, bear in mind they have little experience of tactics on the street, and their naivety may expose you to danger. It's not been unknown for them to send student fly posters unprotected around the Bethnal Green area, with predictable results.

The Anti Racist Alliance: is a "broad based, black-led" anti-racist campaigning organisation. Read through the jargon and what it's really about is a powerbase for the black middle class, supported by white liberals and Stalinists. Because of the broad nature of ARA, it does contain serious anti-racists and anti-fascists, and well-respected black self defence groups

like Newham Monitoring Project were among its founders.

However, few anti-fascists or anti-racists could fail to be disgusted at the recent comments of Marc Wadsworth after the riot in Welling in May. Wadsworth sided with the police in a TV statement reminiscent of Sheridan and Nally after the Poll Tax riots, ironically

again.

The more "militant" face of ARA is Lee Jasper and the *National Black Caucus*, who spend their time accusing pretty much every other organisation of being racist. A NBC member at a rally in SE London said that racism was in "white people's genes". This sort of argument sounds very familiar, doesn't it? This



ARA demonstration: Remember Ruhulah Aramesh-march against racist murders

condemning the role played by Militant, on this occasion. Wadsworth hopes to become a Labour MP, and cannot afford to lose his respectability.

The liberal, class collaborationist nature of ARA is shown by the tactics they generally follow. Lobbies, petitions, letters to MPs and other ineffectual crap. They shy away from direct action and black self defence. Three years of lobbying have failed to shift the BNP from Welling. But as soon as riots started hitting the small businesses of the area, Bexley council began looking for a way to get rid of the BNP. ARA will no doubt claim their lobbying is paying off. We know that it was the anger of the rioters that has forced Bexley's right wingers to think

racist drivel plays into the hands of the fascists, and creates an audience for the black nationalism (with its own black ruling class) advocated by the likes of the NBC.

Lee Jasper holds a degree of influence over black activists, and DOES challenge the law where it suits him. However, as with all those who make a career out of protest, the mask of militancy sometimes slips. Jasper's slipped about a year and a half ago at a march in Thamesmead, where a black teenager, Rolan Adams, had been murdered by racists. A group of fascists appeared and the demo stopped, but a group of black youth broke away, closely followed by an AFA contingent. The fascists were lucky to escape and one

of the reasons for this was due to Lee Jasper, radio in hand, preventing black people from attacking them. "Hold the line" he was saying, as if we were on the defensive!

Youth Against Racism in Europe: Most Militant fronts have the word "Youth" in the title, so it should come as no surprise that the now open "Militant Labour" control this mob. They are also closely linked with "*Panther*", Militant's front for black people.

Unlike the above mentioned organisations, they have a working class base. Unfortunately, it's controlled by Militant's own peculiar authoritarian politics. Panther's future is uncertain, as no black self-organisation survives long in a Leninist framework. We have had reports of strong tendencies towards black nationalism, and it will come as no surprise if Panther throw off the dead hand of Taaffe and co. and opt for the equally dead end option of black nationalism.

If there's no other choice in terms of groups to work with, this lot will at least look after security and take on fascists physically. But any anarchist getting too close should beware of their proven willingness to grass people and their daft idea that police are just "workers in uniform" and not the power-crazed racist thugs they really are.

Workers Against Racism is a front for the middle class loonies of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Avoid them like the plague - they are the Marxist equivalent of the Jehovah's Witnesses and will never leave you alone. They have a few heavies to protect Party leaders, but generally don't have the numbers or commitment to protect their activities. At the Irish Freedom Movement march this year their organisation and stewarding was completely inadequate, and could have had disastrous consequences.

Campaign Against Racism & Fascism (CARF): Generally confining themselves to open campaigning work and intelligence, this lot split from Searchlight over the latter's anti-Arab racism and links to the secret services. They see themselves as part of a wider movement, and do not claim to speak for

everyone. Their magazine has a lot of useful stuff in it, and is generally more reliable than Searchlight. The decent groups within ARA are involved in CARF.

Anti-Fascist Action is the longest established group, and has a commitment



to fighting the fascists on both political and physical grounds. AFA is far from perfect, but is the best around. It's certainly the one the fascists are most scared of.

Not all anarchist anti-fascist and anti-racist activists are in AFA, but most are. Continuing links between AFA and the Stalinist Searchlight are a cause for concern, however. No information of any value should go to Searchlight, because they will pass it on to MI5. (See the article "Security Alert" in this issue).

Liberal anti-racists have accused AFA of targeting white working class kids. As the lefties and black middle class have already given up on much of the white working class, it's just as well someone is.

A recent letter to NALGO News by Newham AFA activists put it very succinctly: "AFA does not believe it has to educate black people about racism and fascism as they have intimate experience of these... Black communities have shown the lead in confronting fascism, here in Newham, Southall, Dewsbury and even Los Angeles...."

AFA has never hidden the fact that we concentrate on the white working class. This is because fascism has always attempted to divide the working class using misguided and disillusioned elements as its foot soldiers during times of economic crisis...

the smashing up of a NALGO office in Tower Hamlets just before Christmas

was a timely reminder that fascism will not only use racism, but any other means at its disposal, to attack working class unity and organisation, in the interests of the bosses."

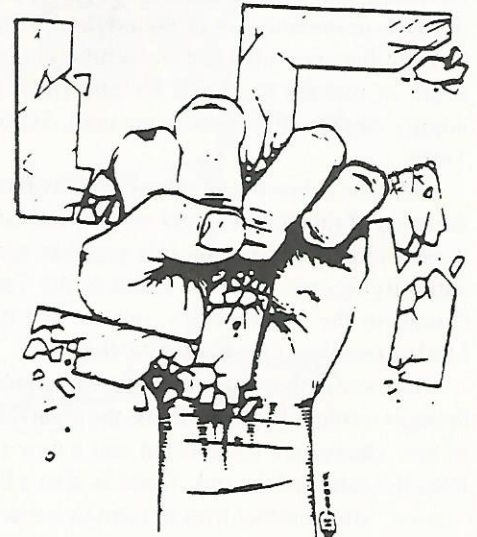
With all these organisations already in existence, it would be a waste of time to set up another, politically pure, anarchist dominated national group. In some areas it has proved impossible for anarchists to work with political manipulators. In these cases, separate groups have a vital role to play. AFA nationally should recognise the Glasgow South group and give these comrades the support they deserve.

Where faced with intransigent lefties who refuse to share information, anarchists should network, like we did around the Poll Tax. A national network along these lines could also link up isolated groups and individuals who are working with other groups aside from AFA. Ultimately, anti-fascism is inherent in our politics, and there is little difference on how we fight it. Few anarchists would disagree with the dual track approach of fighting them physically and politically.

In fighting racism a number of different approaches have been taken. Black people suffer most from day to day racism, at work, in housing, through police harassment etc. Racist attacks shouldn't be ignored, but they are the visible tip of a much larger iceberg.

The current crisis in Europe shows the need to make the fight against racism a priority. It's vital that it's done from a working class perspective, too. Nothing is guaranteed to alienate white working class people quicker than a bunch of trendies in duffle coats telling them how to behave.

Mark Ward



RINGING DOWN THE IRON CURTAIN

state, with nothing to distinguish them from the former imperialist State but hatred of their nearest neighbours.

The Gold Rush

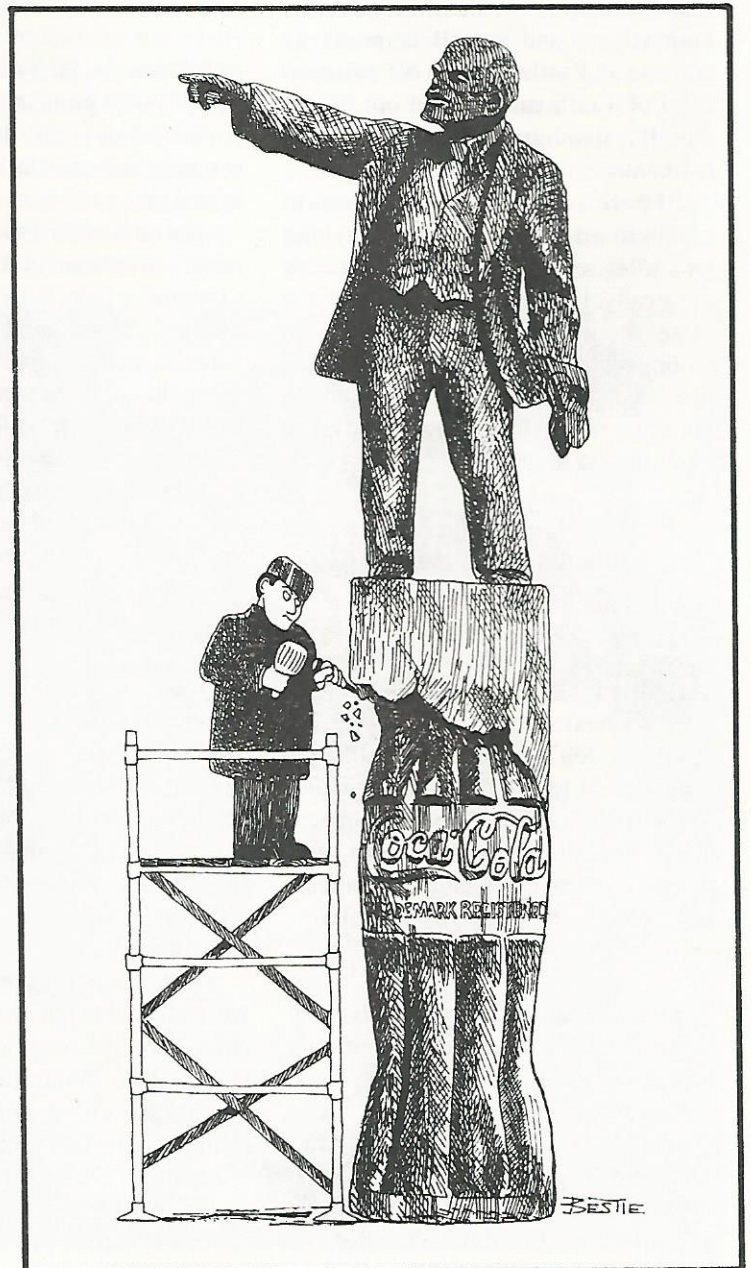
How do you start off a new ruling class? In the case of Russia itself first in line are the managers and party apparatchiks of the old Communist empire. They are the only ones with power and accumulated money to invest in the new privatised economy. They will still be the bosses but everything doesn't have to depend on an individual dictator, so it'll be manageable and the

Only five years ago it was thought by many the only way to bring down the Russian empire was by nuclear war. Any dissenting point of view was, at any rate regarded as subversive. Now the whole Soviet empire has crashed without military intervention, reducing one of the mightiest powers in the world to the level of a U.S. vassal, a third world country with the technical ability to fly to the moon.

Capitalism has taken over without nuclear war. All those years of sacrifice and potential disaster didn't contribute in the least. How did peaceful conquest triumph? To summarise what we said in issue 202, Russia was ruled by the Tsars as a centralised autocracy, something impossible then, incredible now. One man or woman at the top was responsible for the whole empire. So centralised was it that when the Winter Palace was raided, the old empire fell. What took over was the Communist Party as Tsar, and first Lenin, then Stalin, exemplified one-person rule. Though the system of both Tsarism and Bolshevism was based on an impossibility - centralism over a vast country and in particular of one person - anything will work if you force people, provided they are not driven to desperation. Even then, as Stalin found, you can carry on regardless provided you are ruthless enough. Ultimately the strain of making decisions for one small town, let alone a mighty empire, drives someone mad, Stalin no less than the Tsars.

Now the subjects and slaves have worked their way out of the mess of dictatorship, and nobody has been able to put the broken idol of one-person rule together again, many look to authority figures, whether Stalin or the Tsar, some, like the Croats, to the Virgin Mary, others, like the Czechs, to the Mother Goddess Our Lady Thatcher.

But there is above all else two great scrambles: the gold rush throughout the collapsed empire, the great robbery of resources as new classes are established and a new ruling class arises from the ashes of the old. There is also a blood rush, as one "nation" after another tries to form or break away from a new



benefits to those who clustered round the throne will be identical or better than ever before. Be sure this has been pointed out to them or learned in their visits to America and that is what weakened the regime from the top.

In Eastern Germany the former junkers are laying claim to "their" family estates no less shamefacedly the Russian nobility, to recover the lands they originally conquered by force of arms. But others too are contending for lands and industry, a process seen once in England. When the capitalists made their revolution, the old aristocracy gave up and married into them. The Dukes of Westminster were once feudal lords, now they are major capitalists. The aristocracy brought the breeding and tradition, the new rich brought the money to go with it.

In a change of society that does not come from below, those who prospered or monopolised educational advancement in the old society have their opportunity.

Dishonoured Czechs

In the Republic the new regime is openly putting the country's property up for auction to its own citizens who already in theory collectively own them. Yet no one who lived in Czechoslovakia could conceivably have made enough to buy the factory in which they were working, unless they were party bosses or successful in the black market. So Czechs are acting as stooges to foreign investors, lending their names to the selling of the country to outsiders who by the 21st century will be the new aristocracy. It is interesting to note that the only Czech who had the economic power made abroad with huge interests in the Eastern bloc, could now have bought his native land at auction and every single industrial and commercial asset in it. That gives us another conjecture to Robert Maxwell's mysterious death at sea a few weeks before the auctions were held.

Marxism is dead

The great con that by replacing the tsar with a small group of professional revolutionaries one could achieve socialism, which is the essence of the Leninist variation of Marxism, is dead. But the idea that the countries concerned are any better for the introduction of capitalism is as ludicrous as the East European myth that they would get the life style of the American rich as shown by Hollywood.

The Blood Rush

The policy of the empires of Russia, Austria and Turkey was to divide and conquer, keeping neighbours at daggerpoints ready to tear each other to pieces, when economic danger would have turned them on their rulers. The ultimate card was the scapegoating of a vulnerable minority differentiated from the majority by religion (the Armenians played the role in the Turkish sultanate as the Jews did in Tsarist Russia); an alternative, supplementary method to buy national leaderships off with titles, as the English did in Scotland, avidly imitated by the Austrian empire.

The Communist Party on the throne of the Tsar nevertheless had to pay tribute to the ideals of communism, which it failed

to put them into practice. It paid lip service to the "workers of the world" and depended for years for its protection on the fact that its international party was spreading the Great Lie everywhere. It received enormous praise for its alleged suppression of racial prejudice. It restrained nationalism from its worst excesses, but with the war revived patriotism. Once economic disaster could no longer be suppressed by police repression, and the central government lost its power to intimidate, everything boiled over once again. This is not a malaise the world can solve by "sanctions", like refusing to play football with ex-Yugoslavia. (They call us Utopians!)

What has happened is that one vicious system, incapable of being reformed, is being replaced by another, equally vicious, system. Those with the muscle from within the country are those who had the economic power base (the old C.P. functionaries) and they are challenged by those who can build a new power base (the nationalist leaders). Both sides are going to let in Big Business from the capitalist world, which has gained an empire without fighting for it. Every warlord who can manage it raises a banner, however dubious, to establish himself with a following, and form a power base that may last a thousand years. This is fairly obvious in ex-Yugoslavia, where "nations" and "ethnic minorities" have been formed overnight, where before there were only religions observed more in the breach than the observance.

The path to reason is the independent organisation of the working class. Even a reformist grouping would be an advantage in a country where the very purpose of working class defence has been forgotten owing to union incorporation into the State machine. But reformist organisation require leaders, and leaders are conscious of the prizes at stake for them. The practical way forward is, for a revolutionary workers' unionism that can change the basis of grouping from nations and races to classes, and so change the structure of society for the benefit of all, not the few.

Albert Meltzer



SEX

Sexuality is very difficult to define. It is the regular means by which someone gains erotic pleasure. It is inherently personal.

Conventional society tells us there are two sexualities - straight and gay. To anyone with even half a brain, this is obviously very simplistic, so more sophisticated advocates from the establishment talk about lesbians and bisexuals. But at the core of their definitions of sexuality, and ultimately, their views of the ways we should behave and relate to each other, are fixed ideas about our place in society.

Everyone's sexuality is unique to them. That is not to say that we cannot make useful generalisations, just that we need to remember that they are generalisations. People do not "choose" their sexuality, it is something that is innate. It is important to remember that an individual's sexuality is unique. It naturally follows from this that you cannot "advocate" any type of sexuality, and expect it to be adopted by someone else who is not that way inclined. People can of course be forced to adopt a particular sexuality, whether by subtle pressures from society as a whole, or by repression. Both ways cause a lot of unnecessary pain.

It's such a vital part of people's lives that it cannot be ignored. But that's not the only reason. If the State and the moral right-wing would just let people get on with it, it would be of far less concern to us. Unfortunately, they just have to interfere. Fighting for our sexual rights will not bring about a free society in itself, but that's no reason not to do it.

During the late eighties the British government passes the controversial Clause 28 which banned the "advocacy" of homosexuality in schools and by local authorities. Of course, it is impossible to advocate homosexuality, only tolerance of others' sexual preferences. The real target of Clause 28 was to drive lesbians and gays back into the closet and reaffirm the family values the Tories are so

fond of. Naturally enough, the advocacy of heterosexuality and conventional two-parent straight families continues unabated in schools, causing no end of difficulty for students with non-straight sexualities and from other family backgrounds, such as single parent families.

TORY MORALITY

The idea of "the family" is central to the Tories' ideas on morality in general and sexuality in particular. Historically, this is because of the fact that the family was the basic unit of reproduction, supplying future generations of wage slaves. But it also has a useful role in socialising people into a particular role in society. For example, girls are encouraged to learn housework and "help mum" while boys help dad clean the car. Even

at an early age, the family can enforce patterns of behaviour which recur later on in life.

Because of this important role in both producing and raising children, the family occupies an important place in establishment morality. Those sexualities compatible with these functions have gained the seal of approval from the establishment, whilst others, deemed non-reproductive, have been repressed.

In the modern age, this economic relationship carries less weight, as there is no shortage of labour on a global scale. However, the bigotry left over from centuries of repression is still a useful tactic to divide and rule. The establishment has attacked any groups it perceives as being vulnerable to this sort of moral attack. In the 80s, lesbians and gays were attacked with clause 28. More recently, practitioners of Sado-



masochistic (SM) sex and single mothers have suffered the Moral Bigots' attention (though for different reasons).

Single mothers are being scapegoated by those oh-so-pure guardians of morality in the government on the grounds of irresponsibility, which is a bit rich coming from the Party of Cecil Parkinson, David Mellor and that most famous unmarried mother of them all, Health Minister Virginia Bottomley (though she did conform by later marrying the father). Bottomley herself illustrates the fallacy of their argument. A large proportion of all single mothers are actually in work and trying to support themselves without a lot of help from the State or employers. Those who aren't are usually caught in a benefits trap, where the extra they could earn would be lost in benefit and wouldn't cover the cost of childcare.

As an anarchist I don't believe the State has any right to interfere in anyone's sex life. I certainly do not trust the state to judge what's acceptable and what isn't. The ruling elites of this country have long confused incest, rape and child abuse with consenting sexuality. Incest, rape and child abuse are about abuse and power, not sex. However, the police concentrate their activity on cottaging (consenting gay sex in public toilets) and now on SM. Yet there has always been a reluctance by the police to intervene in cases of domestic violence. This inconsistency extends to the differing sentences given to women who kill their partners in self-defence, and men who beat their wives to death.

I don't believe we can stand back and say everything is OK, because that would mean condoning all sorts of dodgy practices. My starting point for what is acceptable is that of consent. Both participants (or all if there's more than two) in a consenting sexual act must understand what it is they are consenting to, and freely give their consent. Any coercion negates that consent. Similarly, you have to understand what it is you are consenting to, which means child-adult sex isn't consenting. If one party doesn't consent we're no longer talking about sex but about abuse or rape.

SPANNER

Last year the police arrested and prosecuted a number of gay men for consenting SM activity, which resulted in a number of men serving prison sentences. Sadly, the response of much of the left, part of the so-called lesbian and gay community and even some anarchists was not one of solidarity. Some have equated consenting SM with torture and fascist repression. The comparison does not hold, as no one has ever consented to torture. Some of our readers have suffered at the hands of real torturers and might well be surprised by the British government's hypocrisy, as Britain stands condemned by the European Court over torture in Northern Ireland. Some anarchists, perhaps mindful of appearing reasonable, have argued that SM is a product of the hierarchical society we all live in, and will disappear in a free society. Aside from the fact that this is the sort of patronising crap that the left used to spout about homosexuality, all sexuality is the product of the current society we live in. How do you know what a free sexuality would be like? Such generalisations ignore the individual's

sexuality. One person's pain is another's bit of rough.

Countdown on Spanner, the campaign formed to fight the criminalisation of SM, use the following definition of SM.

SM is obtaining pleasure from a power exchange and/or pain in consensual sex play or sexual fantasy.

SM sex is, by definition, consensual. Non-consensual sex is an abuse of power and is, therefore, sexual violence not SM sex.

There are no predetermined roles on SM sex. Power relations are defined by choice.

An anarchist response to sexuality needs to go beyond rejecting repression of things we don't like because repression doesn't work. Differing sexualities all have an equal validity if they are based on consent. Aside from lesbians and gays taking pride in their sexuality, and SM practitioners, there are a whole range of sexual options that some people choose. These can be based on preferences such as for men, women or oneself. Or they can be based on practices, such as SM, group sex, watersports, promiscuity, or a combination of a number of things. All are acceptable, and this should be reflected in our politics.

MH

THE SEX POLICE IN BRITAIN

SINCE THE Spanner judgements criminalising gay male sado-masochistic sex, the police have not been slow to use them in harassing people.

On 8th May 38 men were arrested in a police raid on a private party in Hoylandswaine, South Yorkshire for "conspiracy to commit gross indecency". It took the Crown Prosecution Service 2 months to drop the charges. Since then one of the men has been subject to further harassment by the Met in London.

On 2nd June a gay schoolteacher had his home raided on the pretext of looking for paedophile material. Nothing of that nature was found, so the police contacted the man's school and he was eventually sacked despite not being charged with anything and having no connection with paedophilia. This action is reminiscent of the miners sacked after the strike despite being found not guilty.

On 24th July police in London stopped a fetish club from holding an event, saying the venue didn't have adequate fire protection. Club regulars believe the motive was Spanner related.

Info from Countdown on Spanner, c/o Central Station, 37 Wharfedale Rd, London N1 9SE.

& SEXUALITY

IRELAND - THE DEAD COMMAND

A military solution to the Northern Ireland situation would be simple for the British who dare not achieve it for fear that American-Irish voters would see it as classic British oppression. What President would risk it electorally? Hence his vassal the British Prime Minister allows a small minority party - perhaps proportionately as large as the Liberal Democrats in mainland UK or the Labour Party in Southern Ireland - to have their own army.

Allows? The police profess not to know the identity of this private army, whose spokespeople can appear on TV (but with their voices read by actors). That way it can be maintained they are unknown. To show that the police are really pursuing them, a good number of people convicted of IRA activities are years later proved innocent. As we now know Special Branch officers engineered the escape of convicted IRA prisoners but the judiciary vigorously opposed the release of those not involved with the IRA but convicted as such. It makes me wonder what is really going on. It would not be the first time the British Government has played both cards - fighting and collaborating with an opponent at the same time.

The Provisionals, comprising Provisional IRA and Sinn Fein, were created by the Irish Republic, the Americans and possibly with British connivance, to destroy the Official IRA and Sinn Fein (during the "Cold War" period) which had come under Stalinist influence. Now Whitehall may regret their part in the plot, since the Cold War is over and the Stalinist line led to lying down tamely, while the Provisionals are into confrontation and aggression.

Sinn Fein say they are not responsible for carrying on the mini-war but will stop it any time given concessions. They hint they no longer stick out for a full 32 county republic of their own, but 26 of them are not in the gift of Westminster. So what is the suggested compromise?

The Bloody Sunday massacre shows that the British Government would have no scruples about a military "final solution". But it has to look to America and a political

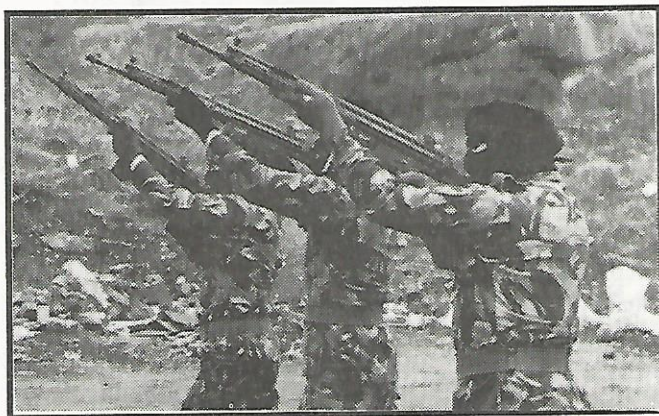
solution, so it keeps its lines of communication open. Yet a political solution is equally impossible. Both the British and Irish Governments, the Northern Ireland Office and the IRA, all bar the Unionists, want peace talks and a place at them. But there is nothing they can bring to the table. Votes for Catholics? (They have them). End of job discrimination? (This will be or is being forced on the province by American capitalists). What has the Government to offer the IRA or the IRA to them? As for the Unionists and the UVF, they have nothing to discuss. They have all they want bar the suppression of the IRA.

The simplistic view that if the troops are withdrawn the Irish will live in peace in Ireland and the British in Britain, is based on assumptions. Assumptions like 90 per cent of the people in Northern Ireland do not exist; but at the same time have all the rights and should have none, will lay down their arms once the troops are gone, may emigrate, represent a minority in the whole of Ireland; and that the Republic itself does not exist because it doesn't have the full

32 counties. It does exist, has almost the most reactionary government in Europe, and giving it any more counties would create an intractable Protestant minority in the Republic as Northern Ireland now has an intractable Catholic one. In reality, the leaders of the Republic don't want that, or to pick up the social security bill for Ulster.

The fact that the IRA is carrying on an armed

struggle obscures the fact that it has no aims, no hopes of uniting the workers it has alienated despite its protestations that when it kills Protestants it is for "legitimate" reasons and when Protestants kill Catholics it is for sectarian reasons. It relies on getting sympathy out of those who read history backwards. They quibble over a word (Free State or Republic) and ignore the fact that whatever it is, it exists, and how many counties makes no difference to its development or social condition. It would obviously be the main part of a united Ireland, from which thousands escape each year. There has to be above all a social solution, long before there can be a political one, which cannot be achieved by the armed struggle of an elite within a faction



purporting to represent a minority.

In the 19th century Irish nationalism struggled against British imperialism. Eventually it won, and because it did, like every single other nationalism, turned sour, creating a new capitalist nation under its own flag with a government as reactionary as the old. In Northern Ireland the denial of civil rights to Catholics and immigrants from the South, accentuated a demand for civil rights twenty years ago. This led to a massacre, causing an upsurge in Nationalism which takes its ideas, history and structure from the past. It takes no account of what has happened since 1921 and so it cannot even sell out or compromise as the leadership now wants.

To say the Protestants are descended from Scots male settlers 400 years ago (most of whom came without women) and are therefore immigrants and not real Irish (an impossibly racist idea) overlooks several things. The fact that they are there, that they have their own gurus and their own firearms and that they represent a solid majority of the workforce are all ignored. Nor does their so-called Loyalism preclude them from countering violence against them by violence of their own against the Catholics or against the State to which they are supposed to be loyal.

Ruling out military and political solutions, what hope is there? There simply has to be a social one, namely that people in Northern Ireland live together as Irish people do everywhere else, whether in the Republic or in emigration, differing in politics but not bothering too much about one another's religion. That is a simple thing to ask yet seems impossible. But the IRA (not the Unionists) accepted this only a generation ago and has got from defending civil rights into a military impasse. The way to achieve it is through a working class movement, - even a reformist one if that's all the province can aspire to, but never divided on denominational lines. James Connolly saw that quite clearly but while his name is invoked, his ideas are forgotten.

The IRA's "socialism" (as distinct from its nationalism) is more reformist than the British Labour Party. Its nationalism stopped at the events of 1921. Its opponents the Loyalists stop farther back still, at 1688. Lefties abroad swallow the fiction of it being a national and working class struggle when in every single other country irredentism (a racial or religious minority in a country separated and wanting reunion with the motherland) is dismissed by them as fascist (like the Volksdeutsch in Eastern Europe), whether it is so or not.

It is senseless to place much hopes on peace talks between the various factions. If one lot breaks down another lot will start with equal lack of conclusion, because what else is there for politicians to do but order shootings? If Ministers, police, military and paramilitary, political and religious leaders fought it out themselves to the finish, it might be a solution, but they will never do that. No peaceful compromise is possible until it is understood class struggle unites working people, and patriotism, loyalty, nationalism, religion and political allegiance divide. Yet the tragedy is that many do understand. The problem is that the dead command.

AM

needed to fight for hearts and minds, opposing the fascists as well as the established system.

While fighting the fascists on the streets remains the lynchpin of the militant anti-fascist movement, it seems that militant anti-fascists have yet to come to a consensus on what terms the movement is to be "unified" on. For our part, we openly state there can be no unity with known liars and police collaborators like Gable and *Searchlight*. The fact that he is spreading disunity is reason enough, never mind his well documented past.

The counter argument to complete dissociation from Gable goes as follows. Yes, Gable is dodgy, but he occasionally passes on useful info about the fascists, helps publicise AFA, etc. He may well want to wreck AFA but arguing for dissociation just plays into his hands. *Searchlight* supporters in the Northern Network have publicly disowned allegations against Malcolm Astells, which shows unity is possible.

But for how long? Gable is an expert at playing people against one another. And why is he doing it? If he is not the agent of the state that people claim, why does he spread lies about anti-fascists, knowing it spreads disunity? The sad fact is that many people recognise this yet still tolerate his presence within the anti-fascist movement. His failed attempt to set up *Green Anarchist* shows him to be the scum that he is. It's not the first time he has tried setting up people, especially anarchists, and it won't be the last. It may be possible that his latest attacks are just the tip of the iceberg, and he's after a bigger set-up.

Gable's lies are not confined to anarchists and anti-fascists. He also lies about the fascists. *Searchlight* rarely has an issue without some bollocks about armed fascists about to unleash a race war, linked to just about every nationalist, right-wing, anarchist or pro-PLG group under the sun. Doubtless it helps sell his magazine but its effect on the movement is there for all to see.

Given all this, shouldn't anti-fascists and revolutionary groups on principle have nothing but a hostile attitude towards him?

Notes:

1. The 'Gable Memorandum' in which he mentions his 'friends' in various state security services.

2. Such as: 'Destabilising the decent people', *New Statesman* 15/02/80; 'Shining the searchlight on Gerry Gable', by Sniper, *Anarchy Magazine*, 1986; *Black Flag* issues 15/156/160 and numerous others.

3. One time active fascist in Britain and South Africa, turned *Searchlight* 'mole'. His name is put to a regular column though actually written by Gable. Hepple claims that he still occasionally phones BNP leader John Tyndall 'for a chat'. Whether this is true or not, many people still believe he is 'well dodgy'.

4. Letter to Gable dated 24/06/93



The Level Playing Field?

There has been Equal Rights legislation in Britain since the 1970s. Despite this, women still earn on average two thirds of what men do, and black people are still concentrated in low paying labouring and clerical jobs. From this, one might conclude that the law had failed to achieve what it set out to. Of course if you only look at what the politicians told us it would achieve, it hasn't. But when have politicians ever told the truth about their motives?

The most visible aspect of equal rights has been the adoption of equal opportunities policies by local authorities and other public bodies, even the government has an Equal Opportunities policy. The basic principle behind equal opportunities policies is to ensure that no one is discriminated against in employment or receipt of services because of their sex or colour, and more recently sexuality, religion and disability have been added to the list by more progressive authorities.

These are laudable aims, which naturally enough come under a lot of attack by the more rabid sections of the press. Upon investigation, the overwhelming majority of allegations from papers like *The Sun*, *Mail*, *Star* and *Express* are complete lies, such as the banning of black bin liners. But the Equal Opportunities policies are worthy of attack for other reasons.

Firstly, they don't do what they claim to. They claim to make it possible for black people or women to get jobs and progress within the organisation. But the so-called "glass ceiling" beyond which anyone who isn't a white, middle class man cannot go still exists. Senior management will privately admit that equal opportunities doesn't apply to them. For example, the Director of Housing at the London Borough of Southwark, John Broomfield, once said that "equal

opportunities was only for lower grades".

Secondly, Equal Opportunities often becomes a byword for the self-advancement of the articulate middle class. A whole breed of women known as "femocrats" have appeared to defend the rights of women. And black people, lesbians and gays and the disabled are now similarly clientised. These supposed representatives are divisive. Rather than have us fight for our rights collectively as a class, they want individuals to be represented by them, thus building up their power base within the bureaucracy of which they are a part. This is perhaps most sinister of all, as the ideology of Equal Opportunities has weakened trade

educated. Manchester City Council provides a good example. They were recruiting roadsweepers, and got thousands of applicants because of the unemployment situation. So because of this they used strict shortlisting criteria on the Equal Opportunities question. In the end, only graduates were appointed, because of their ability to waffle on for hours about equal ops. But sometimes the recruitment process can be a lot more sinister, where applicants (and even service users) have to conform to the authorities' world-view. An east London Health Authority recently refused a Jewish applicant a job claiming he was anti-semitic!



Equal Opportunities – opportunities for whom?

union organisation. A class conscious union organisation will have as one of its major demands union control of hire. This is the real meaning of the closed shop, and it directly threatens management's "right-to-manage". Equal opportunities eats away at this, because management claim, and are believed by gullible people in the unions and Labour Party, that they are only ensuring that black people and women get a fair crack of the whip. Sounds reasonable, doesn't it? Only it doesn't happen.

For a lot of local authorities, a broad knowledge of equal opportunities is now essential. Naturally, this favours the better

So, should we do away with all this equal rights stuff? Well, it's there so we should use it. A lot of British unions have used Equal Rights law as well as European law to win equal pay for women. Department of Employment civil servants admit that 70% of all advertised vacancies have already been filled, and not by the workers or the unions. Ultimately, the law can be used against workers as easily as for them, and is no substitute for shop-floor organisation. That shop-floor organisation must reflect the concerns and needs of all workers, but I'd trust workers to do that better than bosses anyday!

MH

Police & Thieves

The (ancient) Britons lost their capacity to defend themselves under the firm but beneficial rule of the Romans. When the empire withdrew because of heavy commitments elsewhere, they became vulnerable to every hostile invader.

(Much later) Sir Robert Peel established the police force as we know it, since which time citizens have no further need to defend themselves against crime.

From 'Our English Heritage', an 80 year old school textbook..

Police, Vigilantes or What?

The people have for years relied upon the police to protect them from anti-social crimes. The police have never pretended to protect them from social or legal crimes, such as fraud, economic oppression, or induced poverty. The State justifies itself by the laws and the police which claim to protect us from anti-social crimes such as illegal murder, illegal theft, and physical attacks.

Now the police are stretched to the end of their resources by the overblown State meaning a multitude of actions are made illegal. Without the police, or some other means of law enforcement (army, armed party or gang) the State can only exist as a debating society, or like an Italian or Bosnian parliament.

Though the police cannot cope with the rising tide of crime, they are as a profession highly critical of vigilantes. Yet the Government, while berating vigilantes, is gradually introducing the vigilante system as seen at its worst in North America. Privatisation of prisons, private security firms, a private police force as traditionally carried out by sheriff's officers and bailiffs, is now extended to wealthy communities which buy their own security guards. It is a matter of time before the general police force is made private perhaps with a military backing in case of strife.

Trained, highly specialised armed or unarmed combat squads of security guards will protect rich estates able to afford the luxury of their own police. That is how the Camorra began. If such a force could protect the poor - well, that is how the Mafia began. The defence of property is showing a cat the way to the dairy. The defence of people is showing the tiger the way

to the village.

If not Vigilantes, what?

Yet we have to deal with anti-social crime which is usually against the worker, particularly the non- or under-insured; against the weak or vulnerable; and against which the police give little or no protection. It is natural ordinary people want to form their own vigilante groups. The State illegalises such action because it infringes its monopoly over a police force (its only justification), and lynch law which treads on the heels of the legal profession making a fortune out of crime.

Though vigilantes have a bad name because of American right-wing populism use of them in the past, the idea of citizens' self-defence is not a right-wing idea, though it can be perverted to fascistic and racist causes. Expressed as citizens' militia, it is basic to Anarchism.

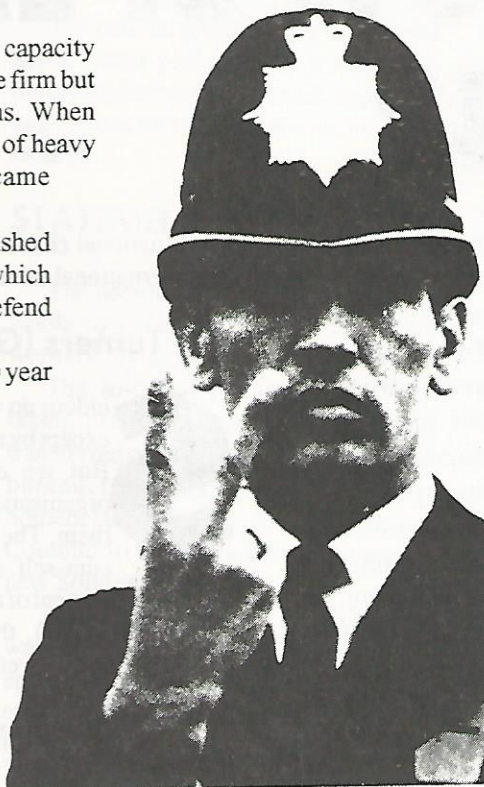
What is the difference? The "Guardian Angels", which is the unofficial vigilante system at its best as the Ku Klux Klan was the unofficial vigilante system at its worst, try to provide defence of the vulnerable by a presence of well-trained, physically fit young people who act as a deterrent.

In Belfast, where one cannot call the police either because they won't come or for fear of neighbourhood opinion, the IRA act as sectarian "Guardian Angels" and, unhampered by legal considerations, enforce respect for the neighbourhood upon anti-social elements within the community they claim to protect. In this regard they are more successful than the police even in Britain. If ever they ceased to be illegal and made their own laws, they would be hampered exactly as are the legal police.

Citizens' defence is something that has to be extended to the whole community, not just those trained in the arts of aggression and self-defence. The difference between a citizens' militia and a vigilante group is that the former includes the potential victims, the second only their would-be saviours, and it is unfortunately the case that the saviours in the end, however useful at the beginning, prove the new oppressors.

The right to self-defence for all includes the right to carry arms, as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution and recognised by most democracies (not Britain). With all its drawbacks (chiefly because commercial interests favour the thug) it is the only way all men and all women are physically equal. That is why vigilante groups and the IRA can protect communities from crime. Where Anarchists have had access to arms, they have distributed them among the people, and that makes a highly significant difference. If this is impractical in modern Britain and workers have to fall back on a reformed vigilante system, itself only somewhat less illegal, the dangers and the alternative should always be remembered.

AM



RED VIENNA WHO NOW SPEAKS OF 1934?

The German anarchist movement (until 1945) was unknown to 'historians' and 'philosophers' who said it only consisted a few middle class intellectuals, surprisingly enough just like themselves, who swam against the stream. Then, some years after the occupation, the American Government released the German police archives from Bismarck to Hitler which they had taken. It was no longer possible to conceal what those concerned had always known: the existence of a large, activist, working class anarchist movement. That story has been told in *Black Flag*: but what about the Austrians? The Russians took the police files and now their archives are coming into the open, it may not be long before the history of Anarchism in Austria is fully told with names and fates. What we have always said, based on accounts of activists, will be admitted to be true, and the so-called histories bullshit. This is a resume of Vienna, 1934, and the events that led to it.

The Habsburg Empire maintained a vast array of spies in an anti-Anarchist Bureau second to none. It also maintained a close watch on the growth of socialism and nationalism. The Imperial police service was discredited when, just prior to WWI, the head of Intelligence, Col. Redl, was revealed to be in the pay of, or blackmailed by, the Russians (the latest theory is that he was framed by his colleagues). When the Republic was founded, at first under the influence of federalists and socialists, the anti-Anarchist Bureau was suspended. The spies and infiltrators thus made redundant were used to defend "Austrian interests" in the Italian-occupied South Tyrol, and many pseudo-Anarchists became pseudo-Italian-patriots overnight, giving rise to a legend still hawked by academics that there had been a desertion from Anarchism or Syndicalism to Italian Fascism. In fact, the Austrian-backed police infiltrators switched their posts.

The numbers involved clearly indicate a strong Anarchist presence in Austria, not necessarily all of that nationality. The

multi-national character of the Empire offered a rich picking for international adventurers.

The Turners (German for "Gymnast")

Seldom do workers' names or stories get preserved except by accident (or are preserved in police files). But we do know of some of the Anarchist organisations and of some of the references to them. The Turnerbund, for instance was a sports-cum-self defence organisation of workers. The German movement of that name was largely Social-Democratic (in the old sense), though with an Anarchist minority. In Austria this was reversed, and the Social-Democrats were in the minority.

A favourite sneer of the Christian-Democrats (pro-Imperial right wing) and Christian-Socialists (anti-Semitic right wing) was to address, even in council, the Social-Democrats as "Herr Anarchist". The German Nationalists (ruling party) always referred to anti-worker laws as "anti-Anarchist" ones. The Turners reflect this bias towards Anarchism, which is reinforced by the fact of Czech, Italian, Macedonian and Rumanian Anarchists within the Empire forming one Anarchist movement. This may give one the impression that it was numerically stronger than all the political parties, divided as they were by nationalities, but this was not so. (Literary references to this can be found in Arthur Schnitzler and Jaroslav Hasek).

That they formed a substantial working-class minority is proved, however, by a large presence in Vienna and that after the Empire fell, the Turnerbund vanished during the World War I, but the Freies Schutzbund took its place. This quasi-sports body was the only one offering physical resistance to intimidation by German Nationalists in immediate post-WWI Vienna. This intimidation was directed against strikers and trade unionists on the lines of Italian Fascism (it is a guess that this may be one of the lessons the anti-irridendist police infiltrators brought back from Italy?). Because it was prevented from taking off, the working class was not cowed and because of that, parliamentary Socialism was able to flourish without having to dirty its hands in street fighting.

The rise of Stahremberg

The so-called Christian parties, with the connivance of an ultra-reactionary Catholic clergy, jealous of preserving the rights obtained during centuries of suppression of Catholic Italy, dominated the Austrian peasantry. In most villages there was no Social-Democratic presence, and a small number of Anarchists, cut off from the anti-Imperial movement on which it had been based, made up the only opposition. In Vienna however, on every workers' demonstration there were masses of black (anarchist) and red (socialist) flags (the black-and-red flag was made popular with Spanish anarcho-syndicalism, and was not then used in Austria). The mood of the workers was that they wanted to fight every encroachment on their well-being and liberty. Having gone through so much in the war and blockade years, they felt they had nothing to lose. The Socialist leadership was as bureaucratic and out-of-touch as in Germany. But they were pushed on by the workers to back resistance.

The Communist Party was the same as everywhere. But it was unable to supply a leadership because the mass of workers were far more advanced than anything their leadership was capable of offering or prepared to provide. As a result the Socialist Party broke away from both the Second and the Third Internationals. They allied themselves with the Spanish POUM, British ILP and one or two other odd bods. Stalinists derisively called them "The Two and a Half International", though it was far more to the left (if that means working class and revolutionary) than the Second, Third or Fourth Internationals.

The Socialists winning elections regularly in Vienna meant that they built huge blocks of well constructed council flats, the old reformist-socialist idea of Utopia. The political Catholic domination of the countryside, plus the stagnation of the country, forced the progressive tendencies among the workers to retreat into Vienna. The international politics relegated anarchism as such to a back seat - this was the great days of the Communist Party - and after the demonstrations of the 30s, organised Anarchism, expressed as fighting units, ceased. But the Freies Schutzbund (a kind of citizens' militia) was fighting the Heimwehr, (a kind of military Economic League, expressedly anti-worker, which was led by Prince Stahremberg). The Christian-Socialists based themselves on a kind of populism but not the Heimwehr.

The Heimwehr became increasingly powerful with the virtual disappearance of the Freies Schutzbund from the countryside that it began to challenge the ruling power under Chancellor Dr Dollfuss, in the name of German nationalism.

Dollfuss felt himself threatened by Mussolini on the one side and Hitler by the other, and was at his wits' end as to how to stand up to Stahremberg. He moreover saw the workers as his main threat. Police infiltration had failed to stop the radicalisation of the workers at home, nor Mussolini threatening the Tyrolean border. As Prince Stahremberg's (Austro-) German Nationalists were against ceding anything to Italy, which was what they were ostensibly about, they had differences with the National Socialists, who supported Hitler. Dollfuss and the clerical-fascist parties had to make a virtue of standing against

Hitler and out-manoeuvring their rivals on the patriotic front. The government therefore struck against the common enemy of all the right, the Viennese working class, ironically the only people who would have resisted Hitler and Mussolini.

The events of 1934

In Germany when Hitler had attacked the working class, he had taken power without a blow. The well-trained German Communist Party and its Red United Front Army, were one day parading in the streets in proud marching order; overnight they were transformed into frightened men beaten up in empty warehouses (later converted into concentration camps) or in hiding. The Socialists capitulated and the trade unions busily transferred their assets to ex-servicemen's associations to save them being sequestered by the Nazis and then dissolving. The Communist leaders went into exile (to emerge two years later as "military experts" in Spain, despising the Spanish Anarchist workers as "amateurs without discipline"). The German workers' leadership had gone and the only blow struck was by Van der Lubbe torching the Reichstag. The "Anarchist intellectuals" vanished without trace.

It was not so in Austria, where the workers resisted and turned the council estates into fortresses, while the regular Army of the Republic had to come out with artillery to bombard the workers into submission. This was the last of the Freies Schutzbund. The full story of the Viennese workers fight has yet to be told but women's bands defended their homes from the soldiers when the men were taken away defeated. Whole districts were wiped out yet people resisted until the bitter end. Meanwhile the middle-class liberals and intellectuals backed Dollfuss thinking him the refuge against Hitler.

Within months, Dollfuss's victory over the Austrian workers did him no good. Hitler had careful plans to march into Austria, do a deal with Mussolini by selling the (Austro-)German Nationalists short and abandoning the Tyrol to its fate. Stahremberg's followers toed the Nazi line when push came to shove and enthusiastically backed the coup. Prior to actual invasion, Dollfuss was murdered by the Nazis while addressing the nation by radio. When the Anschluss (union with the German Reich) was established by Hitler's army marching into Austria, the only people who would have resisted had already been defeated by the 'patriotic' Dollfuss.

The rising in "Red Vienna" belongs to the tradition of Anarchism, not to parliamentary Socialism or Communism. That the march of Hitler into Austria immediately after Dollfuss had done his work for him meant that it became part of the general left mythology. In 1945, a new united front of repatriated clerical fascists, parliamentary socialists, (Austro-) German Nationalists and communists united to form a government in exile, returned to Vienna and were established by both sides as a government. This prevented the division which occurred in Germany, and took credit for the way "they" resisted fascism and another tale of working class resistance was hijacked.

ANDRES VILLAVERDE

Andrés Villaverde is a Peruvian anarchist who was arrested in October 1991 and accused of acts of sabotage. His case was passed from the local police to the DINCOTE, the Counter Terrorist Agency, and he has been held in prison since then. When no evidence could be brought against Andrés, he was charged with being a member of the maoist PCP (Shining Path) guerilla army. He has been detained without access to a lawyer and denied visits from family and friends, so there is little information about his case. Andrés denies any connections with the PCP.

The situation in Peru is very volatile. The country is in the grip of a highly repressive State, with the USA supporting the Peruvian Government in it's "war on drugs" and "terrorism". The popular resistance to this has brought Peru to a state of civil war.

The Shining Path - "Peoples' War" has control of large sections of the countryside, in opposition to the right wing government of Alberto Fujimari. However, they are hostile and repressive to any movements not under their control, including the fledgling anarchist groups. In the areas they control, the Shining Path acts as just another State in waiting. There is an increasing insurgency by the poor and working class of Peru, which hopefully will throw up organised resistance not controlled from above by the

Shining Path.

On May 9th another anarchist, Victor Navarro Huarmiyuri and Andrés' older brother were arrested by DINCOTE while leaving the Castro-Castro prison after visiting Andres. The reason given was again there supposed membership of The Shining Path. They have both now been released, but it is not known if they could be re-imprisoned. A writer for the US anarchist paper Love and Rage also visiting managed to avoid capture, but the next day orders were issued for his arrest. Luckily he had already left the country..

Money is vital for the campaign to send to Peru, as prisoners there rely on food brought to them from outside. At least \$3,000 needs to be raised for Andres forthcoming court case. Actions against peruvian interests are also needed to prevent the further persecution of anarchists. There is an international campaign for the release of Andrés Villaverde. The campaign is also trying to focus support for the anarchists in Peru as part of the popular resistance to the government.

Contact: International Campaign for the Release of Andrés Villaverde, c/o Box 3, Prince St Stn, New York, NY 10012, USA. TEL: 212 460 8390

Source: Anarchist Black Cross Bulletin.

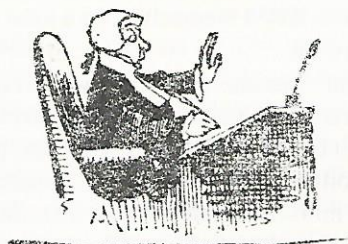
Latest from Avi Naftel

London Anarchist Black Cross recently received a letter from Avi Naftel. For those not familiar with his case, Avi is serving a 25 year sentence and still has seven years to do. He first joined the revolutionary movement after being in the Vietnam war and realising that the Vietnam war wasn't all that it was cracked up to be. In 1981 he was backpacking in Arizona when he was stopped for no reason by a State Trooper. She demanded identification and when he refused, she pulled a gun on him and released the safety catch. Avi admits that what he did next was not the wisest thing he could have done, but he disarmed her without hurting her, thereby earning himself a 15 year jail sentence. He then put her into her car and his companion drove them to a spot where she was released - 10 years for kidnap.

Once inside, he gradually made contact with various anarchists through various publications and he writes to many, as well as writing stories and poems. He is marked down as a "troublemaker" because of his politics and because he is a jailhouse lawyer. His security rating will never drop because he has attempted to escape twice. He has had an ileostomy due to cancer and medical provisions have always been inadequate. The Department of Corrections (ADOC) makes no allowances for a special diet and he has suffered increasingly from protein and vitamin

deficiencies and is malnourished. He is also a vegetarian. He has arthritis in the knees and spine and his eyesight is beginning to be affected.

He has been fighting the authorities for adequate food and medical provisions. According to the letter dated June 1993, he came to an agreement with Robert Gorman, Assistant Attorney General at Tucson, who agreed to supply



the diets Avi needs and no money would be involved. However, the Department of Corrections and Canteen Corporation (the private food service contractor) have refused to comply with this agreement.

On June 20th, Avi was taken to hospital suffering from kidney failure due to dehydration. He learned that he has two stones in his left kidney and signs of high blood

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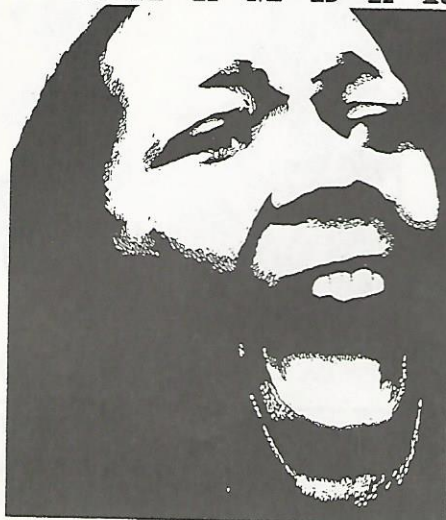
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS BULLETIN

Published by London Anarchist Black Cross

25p

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EXCLUSIVE

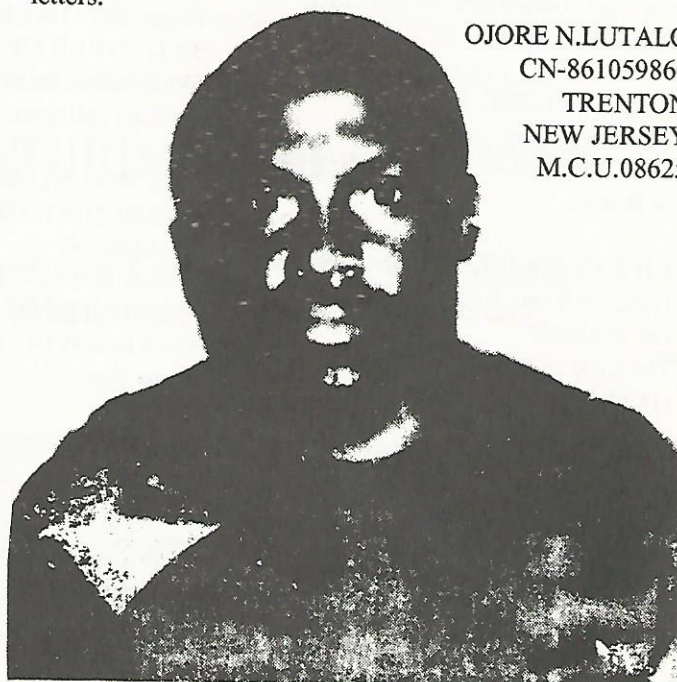
Report On
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OJORE LUTALO

OJORE LUTALO is a new afrikan Prisoner of War in Trenton prison, New Jersey, who became involved in the Black Liberation Movement and has spent most of his life inside since the early '70s. As he says: "I became involved in the struggle, the war against the fascist state since 1970. I've been an anarchist since 1975 without any regrets. Prior to my involvement in the struggle, I was just another apolitical lumpen here in America." Ojore was inspired by the underground activities of the Black Liberation Army, who in the early '70s fought back against police genocide of black communities by assassinating cops. He was jailed in 1975 for armed robbery, and became an anarchist around this time thanks to the new afrikan anarchist prisoner Kuwasi Balagoon. In 1980, Ojore was paroled but was re-arrested in 1982 after an armed attack on a drug dealer. "The overall strategy behind assaulting drug dealers is to secure monies to finance ones activities and to rid oppressed communities of drug dealers". Ojore was sentenced to 20-40 years and since 1986 has been held in solitary confinement in Trenton's Management Control Unit, where most of the 70 odd prisoners have been isolated for fear of their radical political ideas spreading amongst the prison population.

Ojore is one of five Trenton prisoners who are acting with three radical papers to bring a civil suit against the New Jersey Department of Corrections who have issued a directive banning several radical magazines from New Jersey prisons. The suit was filed in february '93. The periodicals banned include the anarchist paper Love and Rage, an autonomous bulletin Arm the Spirit, Black Panther Community News and the Prison News Service. The prisoners contend that the papers are being banned in violation of their constitutional rights since they do not endanger prison security.

We hope that people will write to him, he welcomes letters.



OJORE N.LUTALO
CN-861059860
TRENTON
NEW JERSEY
M.C.U.08625

pressure. The doctor stated that it is possible that lack of adequate nutrition could have something to do with the overall problem.

Avi is also trying to take the matters of his diet and his health to the courts. Although he has filed suit, he has been unable to find a lawyer who will represent him. So he is asking people to write to the judge to urge them to make a ruling. Letters should state that you are concerned about Avi's health and you believe immediate action is necessary to prevent further harm. Any letters received may well be a deciding factor in the outcome of the case.

Presiding Judge
Superior Court of Arizona
PO Drawer CK
Bisbee AZ 85603

RE: NAFTEL v. CANTEEN CORP., et al., CASE No:
CV93-05-00220

Of course Avi would also welcome personal letters and greetings. You may write to him:

Avi Naftel #45287
Arizona State Prison
PO Box 5002
Douglas AZ 85608,USA

THE KATE SHARPLEY LIBRARY

The Kate Sharpley Library exists to document the real history of anarchism. It records the life, struggles and achievements of the largely unknown pioneers, as opposed to the liberal distortions peddled by Woodcock and his circle.

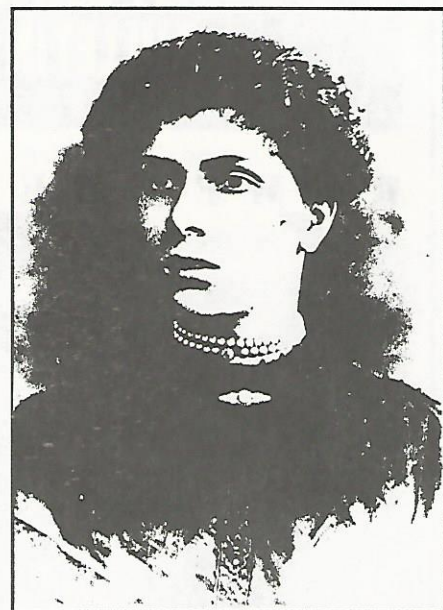
It is named after one such unknown pioneer, and exists to preserve and illuminate aspects of anarchist history and thought. It is available for consultation and hosts a massive collection of anarchist pamphlets, books, newspapers, magazines and documentation from all over the world. A catalogue of what is already in hand is slowly being prepared. It already holds the former libraries of several British and Spanish comrades, together with the documentation of previous collections.

Since the re-organisation of the Library in Northamptonshire, it has published pamphlets on 'Makhno's Visit to the Kremlin', the 'Walsall Trials

(English Prisons)', the 'Italian Glassblowers Takeover of 1910', the 'Origins of British Anarcho-Syndicalism', George Cores's Reminiscences, the attempt to bomb Franco from the air, and the early catering workers' struggle, all eight of which are available.

Other pamphlets soon to come are the Japanese Anarchist Trials, the memories of a Makhnovist partisan, the story of an Italian anti-Fascist volunteer in Spain, further reminiscences of the Unsung Struggle (the Spanish Resistance), John Creaghe of Sheffield and Buenos Aires, and another reminder of the Walsall Trial of 1892.

The story of the Horse Transport Union, others in the series on Spanish resistance to tyranny, material from the Russian archives now opening up, and a great many others are in the pipeline of research. It is hoped to maintain the price of £1 for each (limited editions). Some



Kate Sharpley

time in the future open access may be possible but in the meantime, reference, orders and correspondence is by mail (c/o B.M Hurricane, London W.C.1. 3XX).

Publications of the KSL

RECOLLECTIONS OF ANARCHISTS IN THE PAST

George Coles

Personal Reminiscences of British Anarchists 1883-1939

FIRST FLIGHT

Albert Meltzer

The Origins of Anarcho-Syndicalism in Britain

LIFE IN ENGLISH PRISONS (One Hundred Years Ago)

David Nicoll

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DARE TO BE A DANIEL!

The life and struggles of an agitator and the fight to free the catering slaves in London's West End.

THE ITALIAN GLASSBLOWERS TAKEOVER OF 1910: Syndicalism in Action.

With an epilogue.

THE WALSALL ANARCHIST TRIAL

David Nicoll

MEMORIES OF A MAKHNOVIST PARTISAN

Ossip Tsebry

ANARCHIST STRUGGLES AGAINST FRANCO

Antonio Tellez and others
More on the unsung struggle

STATE REPRESSION IN JAPAN: THE ANARCHIST

TRIAL FOR HIGH TREASON

The Martyrs: their actions and ideals

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF THE ANARCHIST PAST



George Cores

Nigeria from page 8

“revolutionary syndicalism emphasises the overriding primacy of sustained class struggle as an instrument of liberation”.

Unlike other opposition groups (both left wing or democratic) who would see the replacement of the military government with a civilian one as a means to their ends, the AL believes that “the ends of the class struggle....constitute in the abolition of the state system, its structures, institutions, values, privileges.....such as elections and political systems.” Such institutions should be replaced with “self-managing, self-governing and self-accounting units...while participation in them shall be on the basis of equality and the expression of the peoples’ free will. These ends do not however include the capture of state (political) power either directly or indirectly or through the imposition of a dictatorship of the proletariat.”

I quote at length from the AL Charter because I think it is a very significant development not only within the Nigerian revolutionary workers’ movement, but also for anarcho-syndicalism world-wide, and in particular on the African continent. The AL has a membership “numbering over 1000, spread across different parts of the country...We are a body of young activists and revolutionaries, mostly fresh from the Universities....but our membership our membership also covers workers....and journalists.” (AL to WSA, 1989,1992). The AL has been in the thick of key struggles and strikes by members of the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) and the National Association of Nigerian Students, and the recent and on-going general strikes and protests against the military regime.

In June 1992, during a wave of worker and student protests against the SAP and military regime, four members of the AL were arrested. They were detained under the notorious “Decree #2”. As mentioned earlier, this law allows the government to detain individuals at will for an indefinite period of time and further denies them the right to legal recourse. The four- Udemba Chuks, Garba Adu, Kingsley Etioni and AL General Secretary James Ndubisi - were held under harsh conditions until January 29th this year, when they were conditionally released. While they were imprisoned, an international campaign was launched for their freedom by the New York City branches of Workers Solidarity Alliance-IWA and Neither East Nor West, in co-operation with the AL. International support quickly started to pour in. A week of protests at Nigerian embassies and consulates took place at the end of February in New York, Dublin, London, Moscow, Berlin and Rio de Janeiro. Radio and press coverage were gained in Germany and Australia due to the efforts of the IWA sections there. As well as protest letters and petitions, US\$1800 has been raised to help with legal costs and maintenance of families, with generous support from the IWA Secretariat. While we cannot claim credit of the hard work of the AL comrades, in their tireless efforts, we can be proud of making a substantial contribution in helping them and keeping the pressure on the Babangida regime.

In an effort to shed its image as a military dictatorship,

the military government originally called for civilian elections for December 1992. Unlike the June 93 elections - between the two hand-picked candidates of Babangida - the December elections never took place. The military government has cancelled three elections since it took place. Whether or not the majority of Nigerians feel the planned June elections were a good or bad thing, there is a general overall feeling that they are being played with by Babangida - and the price they are paying is a heavy one.

After the annulment of the June elections, waves of strikes and violence erupted in Nigeria’s principal cities. The military has increased it’s repression, with mass arrests and the banning of publications. Babangida promised to hand over power to a civilian government on August 27th and after delay appointed Ernest Shonekan. This move has not thwarted mass resentment and anger, and protest continues.

Despite the conditional freedom won by the AL comrades, they must still report daily to the State Security Services office every day. Some days they are detained overnight. Their trial and their own proceedings to declare “Decree #2” illegal both continue.

Finally, write the Awareness League: “we count on your continued support and solidarity in the days and months ahead.....Yours in the struggle...” Your financial assistance is very much needed. International Money Orders or UK Bank Cheques directly to: Awareness League c/o Samulel Mbah, PO Box 28, Agbani, Enugu State, Nigeria. Please neatly seal the envelope to conceal its actual contents. Contributions should be sent express to enable the League to meet their immediate needs. Please use all precautions to beat mail thieves.

For further info please contact WSA-IWA or NENW-NYC at 339 Lafayette St, Room 202, New York, NY 10012, USA. Tel 212-979-8353.



'THE DAVID IRVING OF ANARCHISM'

DEMANDING THE IMPOSSIBLE: HISTORY OF ANARCHISM

Peter H. Marshall (Harper Collins Hardback £40, Paperback £25)

David Irving carved out an academic career by toning down the Nazis. He does not say the Holocaust did not happen but that there were "only" one million Jews involved and not six million. A million is soon forgotten (he cites the Turkish massacre of the Armenians, but carefully does not cite Franco's unnoticed post-Civil War massacre of the same amount). Trying to get the falsity accepted, he is able to present the case for a "moderate Nazism".

Marshall follows Prof. Woodcock in writing down Anarchists except when they can be put safely into a history book and divested of working class associations. When Anarchism is transformed into a notion properly called Liberalism, one wonders what all the hue and cry was ever about. His Woodcockery distorts their image and ideals or transforms some into secular saints. But he, as a middle class propagandist as well as academic, goes further by inclusion of such *laissez faire* capitalists and total anti-Anarchists such as Lady Thatcher, while the "minor revolutionary current" (that's us) is dismissed. Anarchism has nothing to do with class struggle or violence (except for you, dear Baroness). While Irving dilutes Nazism to support it and make the excesses of capitalism acceptable, Marshall dilutes Anarchism to suppress it and make a liberalised capitalism acceptable.

Graduating, like Woodcock, from Freedom Press and presenting this as his background, Marshall wrote "William Blake: Visionary Anarchist". He was able to further his career by writing on Godwin for a larger publisher and that leaves Tolstoy and the much sinned-against Kropotkin to be taken care of.

What you thought was Anarchism is really only the dreams of visionaries about freedom, and the boss has them too, you know. It is certainly "demanding the impossible" to expect a fair analysis or true history from Marshall any more that a critical analysis of Nazism from Irving. But at least Anarchists know how to react to Irving.

It is ironic that followers of the Irving line torched Freedom Press whilst it was in the very act of proclaiming the liberal-pacifist dogma of leaving the fascists alone lest it breach the sacred principle of free assembly. That sort of thing inhibits people from taking the appropriate action against Marshall they have no hesitation in taking over Irving.

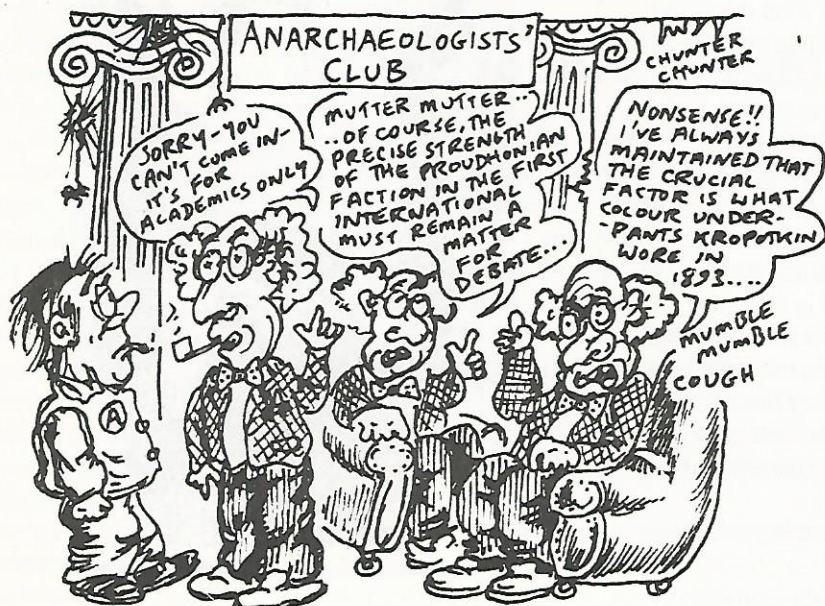
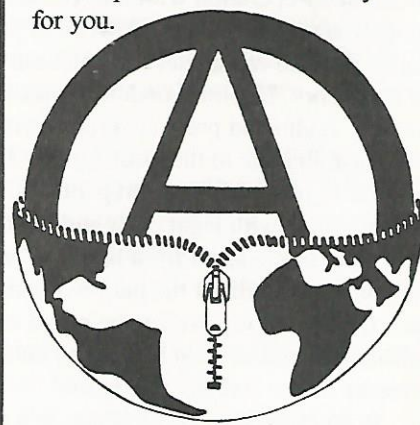
The Voyage (El Viaje)

This new Latin American film charts a young man's journey into manhood across all of Latin America. It starts with 17 year old Martin at school in Tierra del Fuego at the southern tip of the continent, where regular earthquakes shake portraits of past dictators and generals off the wall. From there Martin travels north via Buenos Aires to Peru, Brazil and Mexico in search of his almost mythical father.

The whole film is full of metaphors for the stupidity, greed and cruelty of the local ruling class and the vicious economic imperialism of the West. Inevitably, I missed some of them, as much of the satire was of Argentinian politicians. At over two hours the film was a little long, but the humour shines through. Director Solanas clearly has a message about the effects on Latin America, particularly Argentina and Peru, of repaying the foreign debt.

The pronouncements of President Rana (Frog) and the message of the Brazilian authorities for people to tighten their belts reflect the responses required of Latin Americans by such organisations as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and are suitably ridiculed.

If you can cope with the subtitles, enjoy satire and beautiful shots of the continents' landscape this film is definitely for you.



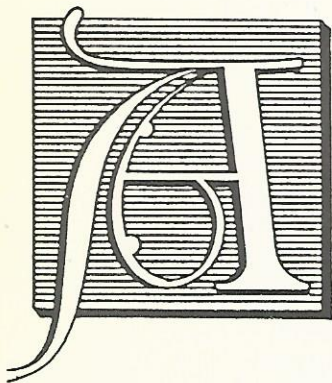
Answers to Quiz

1. The Liberal Government of 1910. It had not only the Irish, Indian and colonial political prisoners, but the strikers and most notably the suffragists. Many women were tortured with forced feeding, though it was never alleged that they were other than political prisoners. The Liberals now dominate Amnesty.

2. The First Nations, or "Indians". They got lots of promises, and the Chief, who saved the day, got a monument which (unlike the promises) still stands.

3. Finland, in 1940 under a military dictatorship, was invaded by Russia. Democratic partisans fought the invading tanks (with petrol bombs, called "cocktails for Molotov"). The government allied itself with Hitler, but the US Government forgave everything because Finland paid its debts in both world wars.

4. Flash, on the borders of Derbyshire, was a market town reputed to offer sanctuary to the horse dealers, card sharps and fairground hucksters who visited all the market towns and became known as the "Flash crew".



5. The Buccaneers formed their own towns in the early days of Spanish colonisation of America, and frequently united with the indigenous Americans in opposing the Spanish Empire. Britain and France tolerated them as long as Buccaneer resistance weakened Spanish rule, but when the two powers established themselves, and Spain had accepted it could not rule Central America exclusively, the anti-Spanish empires decided the Buccaneers were pirates. After that they either hanged them when caught, or sometimes bribed them to join their forces (e.g. Captain Morgan).

Late News:...

Vicar Sacked

The Members of Religious Orders Industrial Network are calling for a day of action in support of the Rev. Anthony Freeman. The vicar from Stapleton, Sussex, was suspended because he doesn't believe in God.

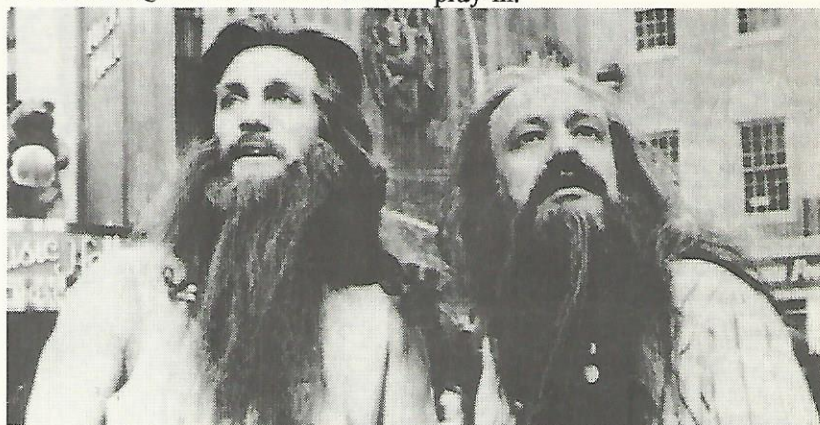
Fthr. Hadaway Ansh-Ieght, Spokesman for M.R.O.I.N., told *Black Flag* "The current situation in the Industry is just intolerable. The bosses are operating archaic policies with scant regard for the most basic

rights of their employees".

Fthr Ansh-Ieght continued "there's no other industry on mainland Britain that could sack workers for their religious beliefs, yet the deity Mafia get away with it in the most brazen manner. It's unbelievable. The time has come to say enough is enough".

Actions being called in support of Rev. Freeman include a mass tea party outside Westminster Abbey, a nationwide pray-in and calls for a nationwide general strike on December 25th.

M.R.O.I.N. are also circulating a petition that will be delivered to the supreme being on the same day as the pray-in.



Members of MROIN look for divine inspiration

Obituary

The veteran socialist and freethinker J.M. Alexander, 84, was brutally beaten to death by intruders at his Hampstead 'sheltered' council flat in August. He was a stalwart of the long vanished National Unemployed Workers Movement, and of the atheist movement before it came under bourgeois humanist influence. "Alex" will be remembered for the newspaper *The Iconoclast* and also for his long association with the ever-lively ever-witty anarchist Kitty Lamb, who died two years before, in her nineties. It is tragic and ironic that Alex was one of the main organisers of the campaign against the death penalty, financed by Mrs (Daisy) van der Elst, English widow of a Dutch soap millionaire, and he first came into contact with Anarchists during the campaign, which they endorsed, to try to save the innocent Ruth Ellis from the gallows. During the last few years Joe Thomas, Patrick Monks, Kitty Lamb and John Greig, all part of a circle of friends and older habitués of the Libertarian Centre in Haverstock Hill, have passed away.

Leah Feldman

A tribute to Leah Feldman, and a summary of her life, who also died recently in her 90s, is contained in *KSL Bulletin* No.4 ("A Rebel Spirit"). Bulletin No.5 contains a report of the scattering of her ashes in Chicago. A memorial pamphlet on her life and struggles is being prepared.



Obscenity is this world
of twisted hopes and
black-mouthed fools who steal the scenes,
Of eyeless drones who never dream.

The mill, the grind, and all for what?
That the few may prosper
whilst the many may not?

Politicians vomiting sugared lies
in orator's flowery, passioned words
to fool and bind the toiling mass
that bosses need never fear the herd.

The lies and hate both have a use
in helping the rulers to tighten the noose.

What use rebellion, when all progress must
die
betrayed by the greedy and killed by the lie
that rulers

must
forever
whilst
reason
stands
by...

